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ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ  
ΙΕΡΩΝ Η ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ

*HOLDEN*



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ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ  
ΙΕΡΩΝ Η ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ  
THE *HIERON* OF XENOPHON

The Text adapted for the use of Schools

WITH INTRODUCTION SUMMARIES  
CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES AND INDEXES

BY THE

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THIRD EDITION

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## PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

AMONG the neglected minor writings of Xenophon one of the most graceful and interesting is the *Hieron*. Cobet speaks of it as *venustissimus libellus*, and the passage in it which describes the change from the contentment of private life to the anxieties of sovereignty (cap. vi §§ 1—8) has been pronounced by Prof. Mahaffy in his *History of Greek Literature* to be perhaps the most striking in all our remains of Xenophon.

Interesting, however, though the *Hieron* undoubtedly is, as contributing, along with Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's *Politics* and Herodotus' discussion of the Seven Conspirators to our mental picture of the Greek tyrant—it had never before been edited with notes in English, or as a separate work, until I published an edition in 1883; and it is nearly forty years since the last annotated edition appeared in Germany. The dialogue is admirably suited to School purposes, and, the only objection that could be raised to its use having been removed

in this edition, I hope that its present form will secure it a more favourable reception.

The explanatory notes have been throughout carefully revised; new matter has been added, while of the old, compression here, expansion there, and, where necessary, excision have been employed unsparingly. Reference has been made throughout to Hadley-Allen's grammar, as well as that of Prof. Goodwin.

In settling the text I have adopted a course midway between the conservatism of Sauppe and the bold criticism of Cobet and C. Schenkl. An editor of any portion of Xenophon's work is placed in considerable difficulty. No writer probably has suffered more from the glosses of scholiasts and the ignorance of copyists importing the usages of their own day into his text; and on the other hand there is practically, as Mr Rutherford boldly avows, no standard of criticism possible for him. For although many later writers have commended his style as the perfection of Attic, calling him the 'Attic bee,' 'the Attic Muse' and so forth, it is certain that we cannot reasonably apply the same standard to him as may be justly applied to Aristophanes, Plato and the Orators.

Demosthenes speaks of Athenians losing the Attic purity of diction by absence from Athens, and Xenophon is a conspicuous example of this, often indeed quoted by the Greeks themselves e.g. Helladios (a grammarian of the 5th century A.D.), who remarks that 'it is not a matter of wonder that a man like

Xenophon, who spent his time in military service and in intercourse with foreigners, should occasionally adulterate his mother-tongue; on which account no one should consider him as an authority on Atticism.' He must have picked up in his wanderings many Laconian and Ionian expressions and many old words uncongenial to Attic, which reappear mostly in the common dialect (*κοινὴ διάλεκτος*), to which his style distinctly approximates.

Hence it is difficult to exhibit a satisfactory Text, for, to use Sauppe's words (*de Xenophontis vita et scriptis Commentatio*, Opp. vol. I p. xvi), 'aut metuedum est, ne constanter restituta antiquioris atticismi integritate orationis colorem exstinguas scriptoris proprium, quem ab ea descivisse iam olim concessum sit, aut cavendum, ne elegantissimo laudatissimoque scriptori congestarum ex omnibus fere dialectis formarum turpem varietatem iniungas, quaerendumque ubique, quae legentem offendant aut parum emendate scripta videantur utrum tribuenda ei an eximenda sint.'

H. A. H.

LONDON

March 10 1888

## ADDENDA

P. 54 ch. iv § 5 l. 27 *add.*—We know from Xen. (Hell. vi iv 32) that the murderers of Jason of Pherae, who was not an oppressive ruler (Diod. xv 61), were publicly honoured in most of the Greek states they visited (Xen. Hell. vi iv 32). On the other hand in the same work (vii iii 12) we are told that the memory of Euphron, tyrant of Sikyon, was idolized by his subjects, who buried him in the agora and worshipped him as the second founder of their state.

Popular hatred is unequivocally expressed in the conduct of the Agrigentines, who forbade their citizens to wear the colour which had been worn by the body-guards of their tyrant Phalaris. But heroic honours were awarded to Gelon and Theron (Diod. xi 38, 53); and their names with those of a Kypselus, a Kleisthenes and a Peisistratus have been handed down to posterity with the glory they deserve. *NEWMAN Aristotle's Politics* Vol. i p. 544.

P. 70 ch. vii § 11 l. 61 *add.*—Polybius records the voluntary abdication of Iseas, tyrant of Karuneia, about B.C. 281 a century and more after the composition of this dialogue. See his Hist. ii 42, where Mr Capes observes 'Few usurpers could safely abdicate in Greece, as no constitutional forms could be observed in transferring the power which had no legal basis. The story of Maeandrius of Samos (Herod. iii 142) illustrates the difficulty of such abdication; the language of the historian in the case of Cadmus of Cos shows that it was very rare in the earlier period (Herod. vii 164, 1)'. Cp. the remarks of Grote (*Hist. of Greece*, Vol. xi p. 212 ed. 1) on the resignation of Dionysius the younger.

P. 76 ch. viii § 10 l. 48: *add.*—Cf. Arist. Polit. iii c. 9 p. 1285a, 24 καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ δὲ βασιλικὴ καὶ οὐ τυραννικὴ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. οἱ γὰρ πολῖται φυλάττουσιν ὅπλοις τοὺς βασιλεῖς, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους ξενικόν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον καὶ ἐκόντων οἱ δ' ἀκόντων ἄρχουσιν.

P. 78 ch. ix § 3 l. 11 *add.*—Cf. Plutarch *Philop.* c. 7, 4 κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν νέων ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν συνεξορμῶν καὶ κολλάζων τοὺς ἀνάγκης δεομένους, and for 'coercion' read 'pressure'.

P. 81 ch. ix § 9 l. 45 *add.*—The recommendations of Simonides may have been present, as is suggested by Mr Newman, to Aristotle's mind, when he wrote, expressing his disapproval of the proposition to award honours to those who claimed to have discovered something advantageous to the state (Pol. ii 8 p. 1268b, 22): περὶ δὲ τοῦ τοῖς εὐρίσκουσί τι τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ὥς δεῖ γίνεσθαι τινα τιμὴν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀσφαλὲς τὸ ρομοθετεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐδόξαλμον ἀκούσαι μόνον· ἔχει γὰρ συκοφαντίας καὶ κινήσεις, ἂν τύχῃ, πολιτείας.

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## INTRODUCTION

### 1. *The object of the dialogue*

THE general scope of the *Hieron*<sup>1</sup>, which is a treatise thrown into the form of a dialogue between Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse, and Simonides of Keos, the celebrated lyric poet, is the same as that of the historical romance of the *Cyropaedeia* in which Xenophon has set out his own theories of an ideal monarchy. The subject which he treats of is the species of monarchy which the Greeks called *τυραννίς*, i.e. 'a Despotism founded on the overthrow of constitutional government.' But in its tendency it is ethic rather than political. 'It examines' says Mure<sup>2</sup> 'neither the modes in which a tyranny may originate, nor the policy by which the constitutional party may best counteract the despot's schemes or undermine the tyrannical government in its turn. The argument is mainly directed against the vulgar opinion, that the possession of tyrannical power, with its unlimited sources of personal gratification, is necessarily a source of happiness.' 'It illustrates

<sup>1</sup> The alternative title *τυραννικός*, like that of *οικονομικός*, *κυρηγετικός* and *ἱππαρχικός*, agrees with *λόγος* understood.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of Grecian Literature*, Vol. iv p. 428.



what Xenophon calls the torment of Tantalus—the misery of a despot who has to extort obedience from unwilling subjects;—especially if the despot be one who has once known the comfort and security of private life, under tolerably favourable circumstances. If we compare this dialogue with the Platonic *Gorgias*, where a very analogous thesis is handled in respect to Archelaus—we shall find Plato soaring into a sublime ethical region of his own, measuring the despot's happiness and misery by a standard peculiar to himself and making good what he admits to be a paradox by abundant eloquence covering faulty dialectic: while Xenophon applies to human life the measure of a rational common sense, talks about pleasures and pains which every one can feel to be such and points out how many of these pleasures the despot forfeits, how many of these pains and privations he undergoes,—in spite of that great power of doing hurt, and less power, though still considerable, of doing good, which raises the envy of spectators. The *Hieron* gives utterance to an interesting vein of sentiment, more common at Athens than elsewhere in Greece—serving as a corrective protest against unqualified worship of power<sup>3</sup>.

What was Xenophon's design in composing this

<sup>3</sup> Grote, *History of Plato and the other Companions of Socrates* Vol. III p. 577. Cp. Lermnier, *Histoire des législateurs et des constitutions de la Grèce antique*, Tome I p. 154 f: Xénophon n'a ni l'austère gravité d'Aristote, ni la dramatique véhémence de Platon, mais peut-être dans le *Hieron*, où son style et ses peintures ont une réalité si pénétrante, s'est-il montré plus vrai que ces deux grands génies qui le dépassent par tant d'autres côtés.

dialogue, and why he should have represented Simonides as advising the tyrant who had hitherto pursued a course of violence and rigour to try a milder and more refined policy, at a time when all despotic governments in Greece had come to an end, is a problem which cannot be solved. The solution suggested by Delbruech<sup>4</sup> in his *Apology for Xenophon*, viz. that the contemporaneous events in Thessaly gave occasion to it, is a plausible one and deserves to be considered. Some time during Xenophon's retreat at Skillus<sup>5</sup>, where so many of his works were produced, Jason was engaged in the struggles against the old aristocratic families of Thessaly, which ended in his becoming tyrant of Pherae and ultimately in 374 B.C. sovereign (ταγός) of the whole country, with the exception of Pharsalus (of which Polydamas was ruler), and his power became so great, that it excited much apprehension in Greece. Letronne<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Xenophon. *Zur Rettung seiner durch B. G. Niebuhr gefährdeten Ehre*, 1829, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> In Elis, some miles south of Olympia, where an estate had been assigned to him by the Lacedaemonians, which they had wrested from the Eleans. See *Anab.* v 3, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Il est bien possible que le choix d'un tel sujet se rattache au voyage que l'auteur a dû faire en Sicile, puisque Athénée rapporte un mot de Xénophon, fils de Gryllus, à la table de Denys le tyran (x p. 427—8). C'est, il est vrai, la seule trace qui existe d'un tel voyage: mais, comme il n'a rien que de très-vraisemblable à cette époque où tant d'Athéniens visitaient Syracuse, nous n'avons réellement aucun motif de le rejeter. Denys l'ancien a régné de 406 à 367; dans le cours de ces trente-neuf années, il n'y a guère que deux intervalles qui conviennent à ce voyage, celui de 405 à 401, année du départ de Xénophon pour l'Asie; et celui de 399 à 394, qui comprend

suggests that Xenophon may have been led to write the dialogue by what he saw at the court of Dionysius the elder, who was tyrant of Syracuse from B.C. 406 to B.C. 367; and there is a story of his having visited Sicily in the lifetime of the tyrant. Grote<sup>7</sup>

l'espace entre son retour d'Asie et son départ pour aller rejoindre Agésilas. Il est difficile de se décider entre l'un et l'autre; nous penchons néanmoins pour le premier; mais quelque opinion qu'on adopte à cet égard, il nous paraît assez probable que la rédaction de l'*Hiéron* doit se rattacher à ce voyage. Xénophon, de retour de Syracuse, l'âme encore toute remplie du spectacle des inquiétudes de Denys et des moyens violents qu'il employait pour maintenir son autorité naissante, a pu concevoir l'idée de ce dialogue, l'un des plus parfaits écrits qui soient sortis de sa plume sous le rapport de la diction et de l'enchaînement des pensées. Dans cette hypothèse l'*Hiéron* aurait été composé entre 404 et 401, sous les yeux et peut-être par les conseils même de Socrate. L'auteur était alors âgé de quarante ans.—*Biographie Universelle*, Tome xlv p. 188 a, 1851. But according to Grote *l.c.* p. 578 the tenor of the anecdote points to the younger Dionysius: if so, the visit must have been later than 367 B.C., and therefore subsequent probably to the composition of the *Hieron*.

<sup>7</sup> 'That the Syracusan Hieron should be elected as an exemplifying name, may be explained by the circumstance, that during 38 years of Xenophon's mature life (405—367 B.C.) Dionysius the elder was despot of Syracuse; a man of energy and ability, who had extinguished the liberties of his native city, and acquired power and dominion greater than that of any living Greek. Xenophon, resident at Skillus, within a short distance from Olympia, had probably seen (Anab. v iii 11) the splendid Theôry (or sacred legation of representative envoys) installed in rich and ornamented tents, and the fine running horses sent by Dionysius at the xcixth Olympic festival (384 B.C.); but he probably also heard the execration with which the name of Dionysius himself had been received by the

also and Lermnier<sup>8</sup> hold like opinions as to the origin of the dialogue.

## 2. *On the interlocutors of the dialogue*

There were two tyrants of Syracuse named Hieron, one who reigned from 478 to 467 B.C.; the other, from 270 to 216 B.C., the great ally of the Romans in their struggle against the Carthaginians. The one who gives his name to the present dialogue was the elder of the two, son of Deinomenēs<sup>9</sup> and brother of Gelon, the tyrant of Gela and subsequently of Syracuse, who was renowned for his great victory over the Carthaginians at Himēra in 480 B.C.<sup>10</sup>, spectators, and he would feel that the despot could hardly show himself there in person. There were narratives in circulation about the interior life of Dionysius, analogous to those statements which Xenophon puts into the mouth of Hieron. A predecessor of Dionysius as despot of Syracuse and also as patron of poets, was therefore a suitable person to choose for illustrating the first part of Xenophon's thesis—the counter-vailing pains and penalties which spoil all the value of power, if exercised over unwilling and repugnant subjects.—*l. c.* p. 577.

<sup>8</sup> Platon, qui à Syracuse fut l'hôte des deux Denys, n'avait qu'à recueillir ses souvenirs pour peindre le gouvernement arbitraire des tyrans, leurs calculs, leurs transes et l'espèce de fatalité qui les emprisonnait. Un autre disciple de Socrate, Xénophon rapporta également de Syracuse des impressions qui lui servirent à composer un de ces ouvrages aimables et courts dans lesquels les anciens mariaient la raison et la grâce avec un charme ineffable. *l. c.* p. 153.

<sup>9</sup> Pindar *Pyth.* i 79, ii 18.

<sup>10</sup> Herod. vii 166. Diodorus Siculus (xi 25) tells us that the number of captives taken by Gelon was so great ὥστε δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς νῆσου γεγενέσθαι τὴν Λιβύην ὅλην αἰχμαλώτων. The conditions of the peace were so much more favourable than the

—popularly put on the same day as the battle of Salamis, but really won somewhat earlier—by which he obtained a great accession of power and influence. Hieron's share in the glory of that day was commemorated by his brother in the inscription at Delphi which recorded his triumph<sup>11</sup>.

The accounts of Hieron's succession to the kingdom of his brother vary. It is stated by Diodorus Siculus<sup>12</sup> that Gelon appointed him his successor. According to others, however, Gelon left an infant son, whom Hieron, his guardian, displaced and thus became an usurper. Hieron's rule was more severe and tyrannical than that of his elder brother and he became jealous of his more popular brother Polyze-los, who was at the head of the army and had married

Carthaginians expected owing to the intervention of Gelon's wife Demaretê (ib. e. 26), that in gratitude they presented her with a hundred talents of gold, from the proceeds of which were struck, circa B.C. 479, the celebrated Syracusan medallions or properly speaking Pentekontalitra or Dekadrachms (pieces of 50 litrae or 10 Attic drachms) surnamed Demareteia (Simonides fr. 196 ed. Schneidewin). See Mr B. V. Head's interesting monograph on the *Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse*, p. 8, London, 1874, also his *Historia numorum*, p. 151.

<sup>11</sup> Schol. on Pind. *Pyth.* i 80, φασὶ δὲ τὸν Γέλωνα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς φιλοφρονούμενον ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ χρυσοὺς τρίποδας ἐπιγράφαντα ταῦτα

Φημι Γέλων', 'Ιέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,  
παῖδας Δεινομένους, τὸν τρίποδ' ἀνθέμεναι,  
βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη· πολλὴν δὲ παρασχεῖν  
σύμμαχον "Ελλησι χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.

<sup>12</sup> xi c. 38 ὁ βασιλεὺς Γέλων ὑπὸ ἀρρωστίας συνεχόμενος καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀπελπίσας τὴν βασιλείαν παρέδωκεν 'Ιέρωνι τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

Demareté, widow of the late tyrant and daughter of Theron tyrant of Agrigentum. Hieron is said to have sent him on a military expedition to Italy or Sicily, in hopes that he might fall in war. His design was unsuccessful and Hieron's suspicion and jealousy led ultimately to an open quarrel between the brothers, when Polyzelos took refuge with his father-in-law. Theron was about to support his cause by an armed intervention when the brothers became reconciled by the mediation, it is said, of Simonides, and Hieron in the end married Theron's sister<sup>13</sup>.

We have nothing but fragmentary notices of the events of the reign of Hieron, but, such as they are, they suffice to attest his great power and influence. In Sicily he was not only master of Syracuse, Gela, Kamarina and Megara Hyblaea, which cities had been under the sway of Gelon, but he obtained pos-

<sup>13</sup> Schol. ad Pindar. *Olymp.* ii 37: ὁ Θήρων οὗτος, Ἀκραγαντίνων βασιλεύων, Γέλωνι τῷ Ἱέρωνος ἀδελφῷ ἐπικηδεύσας γάμψ συνάπτει τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα, Δημαρέτην. τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος τελευτήσαντος Πολύζηλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν γαμετὴν αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται. λαμπρῷ δὲ ὄντι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Ἱέρων ὁ ἀδελφὸς φθονήσας καὶ προφασισάμενος τὸν πρὸς Συβαρίτας πόλεμον, ἐξάγει τοῦτον τῆς νήσου. κατωρθώκους οὖν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον Πολυζήλου ὁ Ἱέρων, οὐκ ἔχων ὃ τι καὶ γένοιτο, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπειράτο νευτερίζειν. Θήρων οὖν, ὑπεραγανακτήσας θυγατρὸς ἅμα καὶ γαμβροῦ, συνράξει πρὸς Ἱέρωνα ἠβούλετο πόλεμον, ὃν Σιμωνίδης ὁ λυρικὸς καταπαύει διαλλάξας, ὥς καὶ κηδείαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιήσασθαι, Ἱέρωνος λαβόντος τὴν τοῦ Θήρωνος ἀδελφήν. Diodoros (xi 48) gives rather a different version of the story. He states that Theron abandoned his hostile intentions out of gratitude to Hieron for betraying the designs of the people of Himera, who had rebelled against the tyranny of Thrasydaeos, their governor, son of Theron, and sought the aid of Hieron.

session also of the powerful cities of Naxos and Katana. The inhabitants of the two latter were removed to Leontini, and he peopled them with Syracusan and other Dorians, giving Katana the new name of Aetna<sup>14</sup>. His influence extended as far as Magna Graecia, for we find him interposing in the affairs of the cities there on two several occasions, when he prevented the destruction of Locri by Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, without armed intervention, and again, when he procured the retirement of Mikythos from Rhegium in favour of the two sons of the same Anaxilas<sup>15</sup>. An attempt of Thrasydaeos on the death of his father Theron in 472 B.C.

<sup>14</sup> Diod. Sic. xi 49 'Ιέρων δὲ τοὺς τε Ναξίους καὶ τοὺς Καταναίους ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀναστήσας ἰδίους οἰκήτορας ἀπέστειλεν, ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου πεντακισχιλίους ἀθροίσας, ἐκ δὲ Συρακουσῶν ἄλλους τοσούτους προσθεὶς καὶ τὴν μὲν Κατάνην μετωνόμασεν Ἀττην, τὴν δὲ χώραν οὐ μόνον τὴν Καταναίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν τῆς ὁμοῦ προσθεὶς κατεκληρούχησε, μυρίους πληρώσας οἰκήτορας. . . . Τοὺς δὲ Ναξίους καὶ τοὺς Καταναίους ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων μετώκισεν εἰς τοὺς Λεοντίνους καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων προσέταξε κατοικεῖν τὴν πόλιν. Schol. on Pindar *Pyth.* i l. 118 ἀνακτίσας τὴν Κατάνην ὁ 'Ιέρων καὶ Ἀττην μετονομάσας, διοικεῖν Δεινομένει τῷ υἱῷ ταύτην δέδωκεν ἐν νόμοις τῆς Δωρίδος στάθμης. Schol. ad *Ol.* i 35, *Pyth.* i l. 1 τὴν Κατάνην ἀνακτίσας ὁμωνύμως τῷ παρακειμένῳ θρεῖ Ἀτταν προσηγόρευσε καὶ Αἰτναίον ἐαυτὸν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας νικῶν ἀνεκήρυξεν. Hence in a fragment 71, 2, quoted by Strabo vi p. 412 A, Pindar addresses him as Κτίστορ Ἀττας. Cf. *Nem.* ix 3.

<sup>15</sup> Schol. ad Pind. *Pyth.* i 98 ὅτι δὲ 'Αναξίλαος Λόκρους ἤτέλησεν ἄρδην ἀπολέσαι καὶ ἐκωλύθη πρὸς 'Ιέρωνος, ἱστορεῖ καὶ 'Επίχαρμος ἐν Νάσοις, *ib.* ii 34 'Αναξίλα τοῦ Μεσσήνης καὶ 'Ρήγιον τυράννου Λοκροῖς πολεμοῦντος, 'Ιέρων πέμψας Χρόμιον τὸν κηδεστὴν διηπέλησεν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ καταλύσαιτο τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον, αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸ 'Ρήγιον στρατεύειν.



to attack Syracuse ended in his complete defeat by Hieron and ultimate downfall<sup>16</sup>. But Hieron's chief glory dates from his great victory in a sea-fight 474 B.C. with the Etruscans<sup>17</sup> near Kume in which he shattered the naval power of the people, to whose early *θαλαττοκρατία* the Tyrrhenum Mare owed its name.

The government of Hieron appears from the accounts of ancient writers to have been considerably more severe and despotic than that of his father. Diodorus after praising the mildness and peaceful end of Gelon's reign uses very different language about

<sup>16</sup> Diod. Sic. xi 53.

<sup>17</sup> To this Pindar Pyth. i 71 ff. refers :

λίσσομαι, νεῦσον, Κρονίων, ἄμερον  
 ὄφρα κατ' οἶκον ὁ Φοῖνιξ ὁ Τυρσανῶν τ' ἀλαλατὸς ἔχη, ναυσίστο-  
 ρον ὕβριν ἰδὼν τὰν πρὸ Κύμας·

οἷα Συρακοσίων ἀρχῇ δαμασθέντες πάθον,  
 ὠκυπόρων ἀπὸ ναῶν δ' σφιν ἐν πόντῳ βάλεθ' ἀλικίαν,  
 'Ελλάδ' ἐξέλκων βαρείας δουλείας,

i.e. 'grant, I beseech thee, my prayer, son of Kronos, that the war-party (lit. war-cry) of the Phoenician and Tyrrhenian hosts may remain in peace and quiet at home, now that they have witnessed the discomfiture of their fleet off Cumae, in what plight they were when vanquished by the lord of Syracuse, who cast into the sea the flower of their youth from off the swift-sailing ships, so drawing Hellas (Magna Graecia) out of the heavy yoke of bondage.' Cf. Diod. Sic. xi 51. A bronze helmet, now in the British Museum, was found at Olympia in A.D. 1817, with the following inscription :

Ἰάρων ὁ Δεινομένεος  
 καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι  
 τῷ Δι Τυράν' ἀπὸ Κύμας,

(Böckh *C.I.G.* 16, Hicks' *Manual* no. 15) where Τυράν' is for τὰ Τυρρηνά, 'the Etruscan spoils.'



Hieron. He says<sup>18</sup>: 'Ιέρων, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἀδελφῶν, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἤρχε τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων· ἦν γὰρ φιλάργυρος καὶ βίαιος καθόλου τῆς ἀπλότητος καὶ καλοκάγαθίας τᾶδελφοῦ ἀλλοτριώτατος. Pindar in the four Odes, in which he celebrates the victories won by Hieron at the Olympian and Pythian games, cautions him against particular faults e.g. pride such as ruined Tantalus<sup>19</sup>, avarice<sup>20</sup>, encouragement of flatterers<sup>21</sup>, and presumption<sup>22</sup>, and exhorts him to liberality and moderation in his desires. Aristotle also in his Politics<sup>23</sup> makes a passing allusion to his jealous and

<sup>18</sup> xi 67.

<sup>19</sup> Ol. i 54—57

εἰ δὲ δὴ τιν' ἀνδρα θνατὸν Ὀλύμπου σκοποὶ  
ἐτίμασαν, ἦν Τάνταλος οὗτος· ἀλλὰ γὰρ καταπέψαι  
μέγαν ὄλβον οὐκ ἐδυνάσθη, κόρῃ δ' ἔλεν  
ᾗταν ὑπέροπλον,

i.e. 'for surely, if ever there was a mortal man that the guardians of Olympus honoured, that man was Tantalos. But he was not able to digest his great happiness, but through excess of it he got an overwhelming woe.'

<sup>20</sup> Pyth. i 90—94

εἴπερ τι φιλεῖς ἀκοᾶν ἡδεῖαν αἰεὶ κλύειν, μὴ κάμνε λίαν δαπάναις·  
ἐξίλει δ' ὥσπερ κυβερνάτας ἀνὴρ  
ἱστῖον ἀνεμέδεν. μὴ δολωθῇς, ὦ φίλος, εὐτραπέλοις κέρδεσσι . . . .  
. . . . οὐ φθίνει Κροίσου φιλόφρων ἀρετά,

i.e. 'if you care to hear at all times a pleasing report of yourself, be not troubled too much about expenses, but like a pilot let out your sail to the wind. Be not deceived, my friend, by juggling gains...Croesus' kindness and generosity is not forgotten.'

<sup>21</sup> Pyth. ii 72 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Pyth. iii 55 ff.

<sup>23</sup> v p. 1313<sup>b</sup>, 14. Cf. προσαγωγεῖς Plut. Dion. c. 2 and c. 28.

suspicious temper, as shown in the system of espionage which he established and the employment of 'tale-bearers' (ποταγωγίδες, as they were called at Syracuse) and 'eaves-droppers' (ὠτακουσταί). Xenophon<sup>24</sup> himself puts into his mouth this confession: οἱ τύραννοι ἀναγκάζονται πλείστα συλᾶν ἀδίκως καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας δαπάνας αἰεὶ προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων, from which and from the admonitions addressed to him by Simonides it may be inferred that Hieron did not abstain from rapine and sacrilege and that there was much in his conduct towards his subjects, which was generally regarded with disapprobation. On the other hand there are not wanting proofs that, with this alloy of baseness in his character, he had some considerable merits. Thus, Pindar bestows praises on his gentleness and hospitality<sup>25</sup>, his justice<sup>26</sup>,

<sup>24</sup> IV 11.

<sup>25</sup> Pyth. III 70 ff.—

ὅς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεὺς

πραῦς ἀστοῖς, οὐ φθονέων ἀγαθοῖς, ξείνοισι δὲ θαυμαστὸς πατήρ,

i.e. 'who rules at Syracuse, a king courteous to citizens, not jealous of the good but looked up to as a father by strangers.'

<sup>26</sup> Olymp. VI 92 ff.

εἰπὼν δὲ μεμνᾶσθαι Συρακοσσᾶν τε καὶ Ὀρτυγίας

τὰν Ἰέρων καθαρῷ σκάπτῳ διέπων,

ἄρτια μηδόμενος, φονικὸπέζυν

ἀμφέπει Δάματρα λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτάν,

καὶ Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος,

i.e. 'and bid them make special mention both of Syracuse and of Ortygia, which Hieron rules with righteous sceptre, pursuing truthful counsels, and worships Demeter of the ruddy foot, the festival of her daughter with the white steeds and the majesty of Aetnean Zeus.'

his love of excellence<sup>27</sup>, and his virtues in general<sup>28</sup>. To these passages we may add Plutarch's judgment of him: ἀλλὰ Γέλωνά γε ἴσμεν καὶ Ἰέρωνα τοὺς Σικελιώτας καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἱπποκράτους ὅτι πονηρίᾳ κτησάμενοι τυραννίδας ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς ἀρετὴν αὐταῖς καὶ παρανόμως ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐλθόντες ἐγένοντο μέτριοι καὶ δημωφελεῖς ἄρχοντες<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Olymp. i 103 ff.—

πέποιθα δὲ ξένον

μή τιν' ἀμφότερα καλῶν τε ἴδριν ἄμμε καὶ δύναμιν κυριώτερον  
τῶν γε νῦν κλυταῖσι δαιδαλώσεμεν ὕμνων πτυχαῖς,  
θεὸς ἐπίτροπος ἔων τεαῖσι μῆδεται  
ἔχων τοῦτο κᾶδος, Ἰέρων,  
μερίμναισιν

i.e. 'and I am confident that there is no host of the present time whom I can bedeck with the artistic turns of song, that is at once more acquainted with honours and has more rightful influence in his power. The god who is your family guardian makes you, Hieron, his special care and has regard to your interests.'

<sup>28</sup> Ol. i 11 ff.—

. . Ἰέρωνος, . .

θεμιστεῖον δὲ ἀμφέπει σκᾶπτον ἐν πολυμάλῳ  
Σικελίᾳ, δρέπων μὲν κορυφὰς ἀρετᾶν ἀπὸ πασᾶν,  
ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καὶ  
μουσικᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ,  
οἷα παίζομεν φίλων  
ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν,

i.e. 'of Hieron, who wields the judicial sceptre in Sicily, the land that teems with fruit, culling the heads from all kinds of virtues, and he rejoiceth also in music's rarest bloom, to wit, in such festive lays as we men oft raise at the friendly board.'

<sup>29</sup> *de sera numinis vindicta* p. 551 f.

There are two passages in Aelian where Hieron is mentioned favourably, one at least of which may perhaps help us to reconcile these contradictory accounts. He says that Hieron was at first as illiterate as his brother Gelon, but that after a severe illness his character in this respect underwent a complete change and he became humanised and a devoted patron of learning<sup>30</sup>. Elsewhere<sup>31</sup> he gives him a very much better character than Diodorus Siculus does.

From whatever cause, whether in consequence of the severe illness with which he was attacked in the fourth year of his reign (474 B.C.) or after he had established his authority more firmly, Hieron seems to have become more amiable and to have displayed more of the qualities, that ought to distinguish those

<sup>30</sup> *var. hist.* iv 15 'Ιέρωνά φασι τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον τὰ πρῶτα ἰδιώτην (*rudem*) εἶναι καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀμυσότατον καὶ τὴν ἀγροικίαν ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κατ' ὀλίγον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διαφέρειν τοῦ Γέλωνος· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ συνηνέχθη νοσῆσαι, μουσικώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, τὴν σχολὴν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀρρωστίας εἰς ἀκούσματα πεπαιδευμένα καταθέμενος. βῶσθεις οὖν 'Ιέρων συνῆν Σιμωνίδῃ τῷ Κεῖῳ καὶ Πινδάρῳ τῷ Θηβαίῳ καὶ Βακχυλίδῃ τῷ 'Ιουλιήτῃ. ὁ δὲ Γέλων ἀνθρωπος ἄμυστος.

<sup>31</sup> *ib.* ix 1 'Ιέρωνά φασι τὸν Συρακόσιον φιλέλληνα γενέσθαι καὶ τιμῆσαι παιδείαν ἀνδρείοτατα. Καὶ ὡς ἦν προχειρότατος εἰς τὰς εὐεργεσίας λέγουσι· προθυμότερον γὰρ αὐτὸν φασιν χαρίζεσθαι ἢ τοὺς αἰτοῦντας λαμβάνειν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνδρείοτατος. ἀβασανίστως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς συνεβίωσε τρισὶν οἰσὶ, πάννυ σφόδρα ἀγαπήσας αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν φιληθεὶς ἐν τῷ μέρει. Τοῦτ' φασὶ καὶ Σιμωνίδης συνεβίωσε καὶ Πίνδαρος, καὶ οὐκ ὥκνησέ γε Σιμωνίδῃ, βαρὺς ὢν ὑπὸ γήρως, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ τῇ φύσει φιλόργυρος ὁ Κεῖος, προὔτρεπε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πλεονὴ τοῦ 'Ιέρωνος φιλοδωρία, φασί.

who rule over others, than he had shown at the beginning of his reign.

Be that as it may, whatever his defects and demerits, however inferior he was to Gelon<sup>32</sup> in the mildness of his rule, Hieron evinced his superiority over his brother by the liberal patronage which he accorded to men of letters, so that his court became a centre of literature and art and the resort of the most distinguished poets and philosophers of the day. Aeschylus<sup>33</sup>, and Simonides<sup>34</sup> were admitted to intimacy with him; Bakchylides<sup>35</sup> and Pindar were frequent visitors at his court; Epicharmos also of Kos and Xenophanês of Kolophon appear to have been on intimate terms with him. Intercourse with men of this stamp must have done much to humanise the tyrant's natural tastes and inclinations, and we may fairly assume him to have been an instance of the truth of Horace's<sup>36</sup> maxim:—

*nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,  
si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem.*

In his love of splendour and in the magnificence of his court Hieron surpassed other Hellenic tyrants<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Diod. Sic. xi c. 26 ὁ Γέλων ἐχρήτο πᾶσιν ἐπικεικῶς, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὸν ἴδιον τρόπον οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ σπεύδων ἅπαντας ἔχειν ταῖς εὐνοίαις ἰδίους: ib. c. 38 τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐπικεικῶς προσεστηκότος τῶν Σικελιωτῶν καὶ πολλὴν εὐνομίαν τε καὶ πάντων ἐπιτηδείων εὐπορίαν παρεχομένου ταῖς πόλεσι.

<sup>33</sup> Pausanias i 2, 3.

<sup>34</sup> Athenaeus xiv c. 72 p. 656 D, Aelian *ubi supra*.

<sup>35</sup> Aelian *ubi supra*, Schol. on Pindar Pyth. ii 131.

<sup>36</sup> Epist. i i 40.

<sup>37</sup> Herodotus iii 125 must refer to Hieron when he says: *οἱ μὲν οἱ Συρακοσίων γενόμενοι τύραννοι, οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν*

The inscription on the noble gift, which he vowed to the Olympian Zeus and which was set up after his death by his son Deinomenês at Olympia, recorded, according to Pausanias<sup>38</sup>, that he was three times successful at the great Olympic contests, twice with the single-horse, and once in the four-horse chariot-race. The first of these distinctions is celebrated by Pindar in his first *ἐπινίκιον*. His other victories, at Delphi and elsewhere, have been, as we have already seen, immortalised by the Theban bard. Like his brother Gelon he sent splendid offerings to the temple at Delphi<sup>39</sup> also in commemoration of his victories.

τυράνων δξίός ἐστι Πολυκράτει μεγαλοπρεπείῃ συμβληθῆναι. Cf. Plutarch Themist. c. 25.

<sup>38</sup> viii 42, 8 'Ιέρωνος ἀποθανόντος πρότερον πρὶν ἢ τῷ 'Ολυμπίῳ Διὶ ἀναθεῖναι τὰ ἀναθήματα ἃ εὖξαστο ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ταῖς νίκαις, οὗτος Δεινομένης ὁ 'Ιέρωνος ἀπέδωκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός. 'Ονάτα καὶ ταῦτα ποιήματα, καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐν 'Ολυμπίᾳ, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀναθήματός ἐστιν αὐτῶν.

Σὺν ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ 'Ολύμπιε, σεμνὸν ἀγῶνα  
τεθρίππων μὲν ἅπαξ, μονοκέλητι δὲ δίς,  
δῶρ' 'Ιέρων τάδε σοι ἐχαρίσσατο· παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε  
Δεινομένης πατρός μῆμα Συρακοσίου.

τὸ δὲ ἕτερον λέγει τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων

Τίδς μὲν με Μίκωνος 'Ονάτας ἐξετέλεσεν  
νάσφ' ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δώματα ναιετάων.

ib. vi 12, 1: πλησίον δὲ ἄρμα τέ ἐστι χαλκοῦν καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀναβεβηκώς ἐπ' αὐτό, κέλῃτες δὲ ἵπποι παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα εἰς ἐκατέρωθεν ἔστηκε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων καθέζονται παῖδες. ὑπομνήματα δὲ ἐπὶ νίκαις 'Ολυμπικαῖς ἐστὶν 'Ιέρωνος τοῦ Δεινομένου τυραννήσαντος Συρακοσίων μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Γέλωνα. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα οὐχ 'Ιέρων ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀποδοὺς τῷ θεῷ Δεινομένης ἐστὶν ὁ 'Ιέρωνος, ἔργα δέ, τὸ μὲν 'Ονάτα τοῦ Αἰγινήτου τὸ ἄρμα. Καλαμίδος δὲ οἱ ἵπποι τε οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἰσὶν οἱ παῖδες.

<sup>39</sup> Athenaeus vi c. 20 p. 231—2: ἱστοροῦσιν οὗτοι (sc. Φαῖας

Hieron became the type of splendid misery as he had been of splendid success; for during his life he lived in an atmosphere of treachery and meanness, surrounded by sycophants and informers, and he was the victim of great bodily suffering. He died Ol. 78, 2, B.C. 467 at his favoured Aetna, in the territory of Katana, in the 12th year of his reign<sup>40</sup>, where he was interred with heroic honours as the founder of the city<sup>41</sup>: but his tomb was afterwards destroyed by the former inhabitants on their return to the town after expelling the new colonists.

The other interlocutor in the imaginary dialogue is the poet Simonides, son of Leoprepes, of Iulis in the island of Keos, whose life extended from Ol. 56, 1 to Ol. 78, 1 (= 556—468 B.C.), the most stirring and eventful, if not the most glorious, period of Greek history<sup>42</sup>. He was one of a family,

ὁ Ἐρέσιος καὶ Θεόπομπος) κοσμηθῆναι τὸ Πυθικὸν ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Γόγου καὶ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦτον Κροίσου, μεθ' οὗ ὑπὸ τε Γέλωνος καὶ Ἰέρωνος τῶν Σικελιωτῶν, τοῦ μὲν τρίποδα καὶ νίκην χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα ἀναθέντος καθ' οὓς χρόνους Ξέρξης ἐπεστράτευσεν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, τοῦ δ' Ἰέρωνος τὰ δμοία. Athenaeus proceeds with the story told by Theopompos how Hieron, being unable to procure pure gold for his offerings, had to send to Hellas, where he bought some of Architelēs of Corinth ὃς πολλῶ χρόνῳ συνωνόμενος κατὰ μικρὸν θησαυροὺς εἶχεν οὐκ ὀλίγους.

<sup>40</sup> Schol. ad Pind. Ol. i 1, Pyth. i 89, iii 1, Diod. Sic. xi 33 Ἰέρων... ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Συρακουσίων ἔτη ἑνδεκα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ, ib. i 166, Aristot. Pol. v c. 12, Plutarch de Pyth. orac. 19.

<sup>41</sup> Diod. Sic. xi 66 Ἰέρων δὲ... ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ Κατάνῃ καὶ τιμῶν ἡρωικῶν ἐτινχεν, ὡς ἂν κτίστης γεγονὼς τῆς πόλεως. The founding of Aetna was celebrated by Aeschylus in his Αἰτναῖαι (γυναῖκες) and by Pindar in his first Pythian.

<sup>42</sup> According to his own testimony in the Epigram in

in which music and poetry was an hereditary art, and which held some office in connexion with the worship of Dionysos. He was himself chorus-teacher in the town of Carthaea where the house of the chorus (χορηγεῖον) was his usual abode<sup>43</sup>. From his native island he migrated to Athens at the invitation of the Peisistratid Hipparchos<sup>44</sup>, at whose court he spent several years (B.C. 527—514), at the same time as Anacreon and his rival, the dithyrambic poet Lasos, Pindar's teacher<sup>45</sup>, and was highly esteemed by him. After the murder of Hipparchos in B.C. 514 (of which event the poet speaks as a great light to Athens<sup>46</sup>, although the tyrant was so great a benefactor to him personally) and the subsequent overthrow of Hippias in B.C. 510 Simonides spent the next period of his life in Thessaly with the families of the Aleuadae and Skopadae, the hereditary grandees of Thessaly, whose names have been rescued from oblivion by the

Planudes (*Jacobs Anth. Palat. Append. Epigr.* 79=203 Schneidewin) he was 80 years old in Ol. 75, 4 (= B.C. 477):

ἦρχεν Ἀδείμαντος μὲν Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἑνίκα  
Ἀντιοχίς φυλή δαιδαλέον τρίποδα·

\* \* \* \* \*

ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίᾳ δὲ Σιμωνίδῃ ἔσπετο κῦδος  
ὀγδωκοντάττει παιδί Λεωπρεπέος.

<sup>43</sup> See the story related by Chamaeleon in Athenaeus x c. 84 p. 456 c.

<sup>44</sup> Plat. *Hipparch.* p. 223 c, Aelian *var. hist.* viii 2.

<sup>45</sup> Arist. *Vesp.* 1410 with Schol.

<sup>46</sup> *Epigr.* 131=187 Schneidewin.

ἦ μέγ' Ἀθηναίοισι φῶς γένεθ' ἦνίκα Ἀριστο-  
γέλτων Ἴππαρχον κτεῖνε καὶ Ἀρμόδιος.



poet's *θρῆνοι*, and the *ἐπινίκια*<sup>47</sup> in which he sang of the prizes won by their horses in the sacred games<sup>48</sup>. Of these epinikian odes that on the victory of Skopas with the four-horse chariot is best known by the commentary on a fragment of it in the *Protagoras* of Plato<sup>49</sup>. There are also extant fragments of

<sup>47</sup> i.e. songs performed at a feast in honour of a victor in public and sacred games, either on the scene of the conflict or upon his return home. 'The most striking occasion' says Mr J. A. Symonds (*Studies in the Greek poets* Vol. 1 p. 128 ed. 2) 'must have been the commemoration of a victory in the Temple of Zeus at Altis in the Olympian plain by moonlight.'

<sup>48</sup> Theokritus *Idyll.* xvi l. 36 ff., speaking of the value of song and of the wealth of the Aleuadae and Skopadae, says of them:—

ἄμναστοι δὲ, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια τῆνα λιπόντες,  
δειλοῖς ἐν νεκύεσσι μακροῦς αἰῶνας ἔκειντο,  
εἰ μὴ δεινὸς ἀοιδὸς ὁ Κῆϊος, αἰόλα φωνέων  
βάρβιτον ἐς πολύχρδον, ἐν ἀνδράσι θῆκ' ὀνομαστοῦς  
ὀπλοτέροις· τιμᾶς δὲ καὶ ὠκέες ἔλλαχον ἵπποι,  
οἳ σφιν ἐξ ἱερῶν στεφανηφόροι ἦνθον ἀγώνων.

'and for long ages they had lain nameless among the forlorn dead, leaving behind them all that store of wealth, had not the skilled minstrel of Ceos with subtle song to the accompaniment of a stringed lyre made them famous among later generations: and their swift racers also, who came back to them from the sacred contests crowned with victory, had a share in their meed of praise.'

<sup>49</sup> p. 339 f. In this ode the saying of Pittakos 'it is difficult to be good,' which was censured as requiring too much, was probably applied for the purpose of extenuating some faults in his patron's character. 'With Ionian facility and courtly compliment' says Mr Symonds *l.c.* 'he made excuses for a bad man by pleading that perfect goodness was unattainable.'

the dirges (*θρήνοι*) on the hapless Skopad<sup>50</sup> and on the Aleuad Antiochus, son of Echekratides: and doubtless the exquisite lyric piece containing the *Lament of Danae*<sup>51</sup> was part of a *θρήνος* composed for one of the Aleuadae. But the rough nature of the Thessalians was not to be softened by the charms of his poetry or at least to be covered with a varnish of civilization, for he says himself of them *ἀμαθέστεροί εἰσιν ἢ ὡς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι*<sup>52</sup>. That these families were not always equally liberal to their poet, appears from the anecdote recording the most dramatic incident in his life<sup>53</sup>. According to the story Skopas

<sup>50</sup> fr. xlvī ed. Schneidewin:

ἄνθρωπος ἔων μὴ ποτε εἴπῃς ὃ τι γίνεταί αὐριον,  
μηδ' ἄνδρα ἰδὼν δλβιον, ὅσσον χρόνον ἔσσεταί·  
ὡκέϊα γάρ, οὐδὲ τανυπτερόγυι μύλας  
οὕτως ἀ μεταστάσις;

i.e. 'mortal that you are, never talk of what is to happen to-morrow, nor when you see a man prosperous, (say) how long he will last; for swift is the change, not so swift is the movement of a winged fly from place to place.'

<sup>51</sup> Prof. Jebb thinks on the contrary that it was a piece complete in itself, not a gem adorning a larger piece on another subject. See his admirable Essay on Pindar in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. III p. 164.

<sup>52</sup> Plutarch *de aud. poet.* p. 15 c.

<sup>53</sup> Cic. *de oratore* II 86, 352 f. Cf. Quintilian *Inst. orat.* XI 2, 11; Valer. Max. I 8 ext. 7, Phædr. *Fab.* IV 25, Ovid *Ib.* 51 f. (ed. R. Ellis),

*lapsuramque domum subeas, ut sanguis Aleuæ,  
stella Leoprepidae cum fuit aequa viro.*

Callimach. fr. 64 (ed. Meineke) where Simonides is made to say:

οὐδ' ὑμέας, Πολύδευκες, ὑπέτρεσεν, οἳ με μελᾶθρου  
μέλλοντος πίπτειν ἐκτὸς ἔθεσθ' ἔποτε

once refused him more than half the promised reward and referred him for the other half to the Dioskuri, whom he had also praised in his ode; and, in consequence, the Dioskuri saved Simonides when the building fell and buried Skopas in its ruins.

But the high reputation of Simonides among the Hellenes is chiefly apparent at the time of the Persian war, when he was resident at Athens. He was in friendly intercourse with Themistokles<sup>54</sup> and the Spartan general Pausanias, and he became the spokesman of the nation in celebrating the great deeds and heroes of that period. The poems which he wrote for this purpose were for the most part epigraphs; but some were lyrical compositions, like the panegyric of those who had fallen at Thermopylae and the odes on the sea-fights at Artemision and Salamis. Others were elegiacs, as the elegy<sup>55</sup> in honour of the warriors who fell at Marathon (B.C. 490), for which he is stated to have carried off the prize from Aeschylus himself, the Athenians having instituted

δαιτυμόνων ἀπο μούνον, ὅτε Κραννώνιος αἰαῖ  
ὤλισθεν μεγάλους οἶκος ἐπὶ Σκοπάδας.

Schneidewin infers from a quotation from Phanias of Eresos by Athenaeus x p. 438 E, who placed the death of Skopas under the head of Destruction of Tyrants through revenge, that the tyrant's death was really plotted by the people and that timely notice was given to Simonides, on account of his sacred character as a poet, of the intended undermining of the building in which Skopas was about to celebrate his victory. 'The story' observes Mr Symonds 'perhaps belongs to the same class as the cranes of Ibykus and the dolphin of Arion.'

<sup>54</sup> Plutarch *Them.* v 4.

<sup>55</sup> Grammaticus in *vita Aeschyli* p. xiv Dindorf.

a contest of the chief poets. Ten years later, in B.C. 479, he composed the epigram (ἐπικηΐδειον) inscribed on the tomb of the Spartan heroes of Thermopylae<sup>56</sup> and the celebrated ἐγκώμιον on the same<sup>57</sup>,

<sup>56</sup> Herod. vii 228 :

ὦ ξείν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τᾷδε  
κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

*dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentis,  
dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur,*

as it is translated by Cicero Tusc. i 42, 101.

<sup>57</sup> Diod. Sic. xi 11: οὐχ οἱ τῶν ἱστοριῶν συγγραφεῖς μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν καθύμνησαν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας, ὧν γέγονε καὶ Σιμωνίδης ὁ μελοποιός, ἀξίον τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν ποιήσας ἐγκώμιον, ἐν ᾧ λέγει·

τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων  
εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἂ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος,  
βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόνων δὲ μνάστις, ὁ δ' οἶκτος ἔπαινος.  
ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐτ' εὐρὺς  
οὐθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.  
ὁ δὲ σακὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν  
'Ελλάδος εἴλετο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ Λεωνίδας  
ὁ Σπάρτας βασιλεὺς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπῶς  
κόσμον ἀνάσσειν τε κλέος.

i.e. 'of those who died at Thermopylae glorious is the fate and fair the doom; their grave is an altar; instead of lamentation, they have endless fame; their dirge is a chant of praise. Such winding-sheet as theirs no rust, no nor all-conquering time, shall bring to nought, brave men that they were. But their sepulchre took for its habitant the glory of Hellas. Leonidas is witness thereof, Sparta's king, who hath left a mighty crown of valour and undying fame.'

If we analyse this fragment, what strikes us is the masterly skill and grace with which the poet plays with a single thought; and the skill with which the antitheses are wrought; the glory of the heroes' fate, then with a boldness of thought succeeding

and, on account of the high consideration in which he was held both at Athens and in Peloponnesos<sup>58</sup>, he was frequently employed by the states which fought against the Persians to adorn with inscriptions (*ἐπιγράμματα*) the tombs of their warriors, who had fallen in the War of Liberation.

Though inferior as a poet to his contemporary, the other great master of *universal melic*, in profundity and novelty of ideas, in fervour of feeling and in that *δύναμις ἀμφιλαφής*<sup>59</sup>, 'breadth of view and power of grasp,' which was at once Pindar's aspiration and characteristic, he nevertheless was decidedly better known and more admired in his day<sup>60</sup> than the poet who so completely eclipsed him in the judgment of posterity. Yet we cannot help agreeing with Prof. Mahaffy when he says that 'the exquisite beauty,

what is commonplace, their grave is an altar. 'We do not lament for them so much as hold them in eternal memory: our very songs of sorrow become paeans of praise. Rust and time cannot affect their fame; Hellas confides her glory to their tomb. Then generalities are quitted; and Leonidas, the protagonist of Thermopylae, appears.' J. A. Symonds *l. c.* p. 161.

<sup>58</sup> 'The practical tendency of his poetry, the worldly wisdom, guided by a noble disposition, which appeared in it, and the delicacy with which he treated all the relations of states and rulers, made him the friend of the most powerful and distinguished men of his age. In fact scarcely any poet of antiquity enjoyed so much consideration in his life-time or exercised so much influence upon political events, as Simonides.' K. O. Müller's *Hist. Greek Lit.* tr. by Lewis and Donaldson Vol. 1 p. 276.

<sup>59</sup> Ol. ix 88.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Jebb *l. c.* p. 166, Mahaffy *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* Vol. 1 p. 206 ed. 1.

the pellucid clearness, and the deep but chastened pathos of his fragments make us wish to exchange a few of Pindar's more laboured odes for the master-pieces of his rival<sup>61</sup>.

Simonides was probably the most prolific poet whom Greece had seen, although so little of his poetry has come down to us. He gained (according to the inscription of a votive tablet, written by himself on his departure for Sicily)<sup>62</sup> no less than fifty-six oxen and tripods in poetical contests at public festivals.

Of the several classes of poems which he composed for public festivals the greater part relate directly to the worship of the various gods. These were dithyrambs or choral songs, chiefly but not always dedicated to Dionysos<sup>63</sup>, chants (*ὕμνοι*) and prayers (*κατευχαί*) sung by a chorus standing before an altar, paeans (*παιᾶνες*) to Phoebus in his double character of a victorious and a healing god, the accompaniment of the battle and the feast; processional hymns (*προσόδια*) sung at solemn festivals by troops of men and maidens walking to the shrines, crowned with olive, myrtle, bay or oleander, a special kind of which were *παρθένια*<sup>64</sup>, called daphnephoria when

<sup>61</sup> *l. c.* p. 208.

<sup>62</sup> Anthol. Palat. vi 213, fr. 202 ed. Schn.

ἐξ ἐπὶ πενήκοντα, Σιμωνίδῃ, ἦραο ταύρους  
καὶ τρίποδας, πρὶν τὸνδ' ἀνθέμεναι πίνακα·  
τοσσάκι δ' ἡμερόεντα διδασκόμενος χορὸν ἀνδρῶν  
εὐδόξου Νίκας ἀγλαὸν ἄρμ' ἐπέβης.

<sup>63</sup> Müller *l. c.* p. 278.

<sup>64</sup> There is a beautiful example of antiphonal parthenia at the end of the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, where choruses of

addressed to Phoebus, because the maidens carried laurel branches to his shrine; songs to lively dancing performed by choruses of boys or of boys and young maidens, which were originally confined to the worship of Apollo (ὑπορχήματα). 'In these last' says Müller<sup>65</sup> 'Simonides seems to have excelled himself; so great a master was he of the art of

Athenian and Spartan girls sing in rivalry turn and turn about.

<sup>65</sup> *l. c.* on the authority of Plutarch *Mor.* p. 748 A, B: ὀρχηστικῇ δὲ καὶ ποιητικῇ κοινωνία πᾶσα καὶ μέθεξις ἀλλήλων ἐστί, καὶ μάλιστα μιμούμεναι περὶ τὸ ὑπορχημάτων γένος ἔνεργον ἀμφοτέρας τὴν διὰ τῶν σχημάτων καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων μίμησιν ἀποτελοῦσι. . . . δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ ἀλλοῖστα κατωρθώκεναι δόξας ἐν ὑπορχήμασι, καὶ γεγονέναι πιθανώτατος ἐαυτοῦ, τὸ δεῖσθαι τὴν ἑτέραν τῆς ἑτέρας· τὸ γὰρ

ἀπέλαστον ἵππον ἢ κύν' Ἀμυκλαίαν  
ἀγωνίων ἐλελιζόμενος ποδὶ μίμεο  
καμπύλον μέλος διώκων·

(i.e. 'celerem equum aut canem Amyclaeam clamore laeto imitare, pedum levitate vias persequens varias modorum'), ἢ τὸ

οἶος ἀνὰ Δώτιον ἀνθέμοεν πεδίον πέταται  
θάνατον κερὰ  
εὐρέμεν ματεύων ἐλάφῳ·  
τὰν δ' ἔλ' αὐχένι στρέφοισαν  
σφέτερον κάρα πάντ' ἐς οἶμον,

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς—μηδὲνα λελθὲν τὴν ἐν ὀρχήσει διάθεσιν τὰ ποιήματα παρακαλεῖν καὶ τῷ χεῖρε καὶ τῷ πόδε, μᾶλλον δὲ ὄλον ὥσπερ τισὶ μνηνθοῖς ἔλκειν τὸ σῶμα τοῖς μέλεσι καὶ ἐντείνειν, τούτων δὲ λεγομένων καὶ ἄδομένων, ἡσυχίαν ἀγειν μὴ δυναμένοις· αὐτὸς γοῦν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ αἰσχύνεται περὶ τὴν ὀρχησιν οὐχ ἥττον ἢ τὴν ποίησιν ἐγκωμιάζων·

ὅσα δὲ γάρυσαι

σύν τ' ἐλαφρὸν ὀρχημ' οἶδα ποδῶν μινύμεν·

Κρήτα δὲ μιν καλέοισι τρόπον, τὸ δ' ὄργανον Μολοσσόν.

painting by apt rhythms and words the acts which he wished to describe.' Of the poems which Simonides composed for private persons, the odes of Victory (ἐπινίκια)<sup>66</sup> and laments (θρήνοι) are among the best specimens of his art. The former belong, like those of Pindar, to the age when sculpture was finding a new field in the commemoration of victorious combatants, who were then raised to such an eminent rank, as to be almost on a level with demi-gods (ἡμίθεοι) in respect to the honours paid to them. 'They appear to have been distinguished from those of Pindar mainly in this: that the former dwelt upon the particular victory which gave occasion to his song and described all its details with greater minuteness; while Pindar passes lightly over the incident and immediately soars into higher regions. Simonides too more frequently indulged in pleasantry than befitted a poem destined to be recited at a sacred feast<sup>67</sup>.'

What Simonides possesses quite peculiar to his own genius is tenderness of feeling and pathos<sup>68</sup>, and

<sup>66</sup> See note 47. †

<sup>67</sup> Müller l.c. p. 279.

<sup>68</sup> Dionys. Halicarn. *vett. script. iud.* II 6 p. 420 ed. Reiske  
τὸ οἰκτιζεσθαι μὴ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὡς Πίνδαρος ἀλλὰ παθητικῶς.  
Cf. Catullus xxxviii 8 *maestius lacrimis Simonideis*, and  
Horace Od. II 1, 37

*Sed ne relictis, Musa procaz, iocis  
Caeae retractes munera naeniae.*

Quintilian *inst. orat.* x 1, 64: *Simonides, tenuis aliqui, sermone proprio et iucunditate quadam commendari potest: praecipua tamen eius in commovenda miseratione virtus, ut quidam in hac eum parte omnibus eius operis auctoribus praeferunt.*



this is seen most remarkably in his dirges (*θρήνοι*) or choral hymns sung at funeral solemnities (of which we have one exquisitely beautiful fragment already spoken of)<sup>69</sup>, in which the poet surrenders himself to the genuine feelings of human nature, expressing grief for the dead and the fond regret of the survivors and resignation to inevitable evils, and seeking consolation in the shortness and toils of human life and the instability of fortune with the tone usual to the Ionic elegy. The style of Simonides is pure and graceful, smooth and highly polished—hence the ancients called him *Melikertes*<sup>70</sup>. In his choice of words<sup>71</sup>, he departs less from the language of ordinary life than Pindar, whose majesty, force and gorgeous exuberance of poetical ideas form a contrast to the exquisite finish and skill with which Simonides works out in detail one or two images, producing with a few graphic touches a

<sup>69</sup> p. xxix.

<sup>70</sup> Schol. ad Arist. Vesp. 1410, Suidas s.v. *Σιμωνίδης*. Cf. Cic. de nat. deor. i 22 *suavis poeta Simonides*, Epigr. on the nine lyrists (Anthol. Pal. ix 571)

ἐκλαγεν ἐκ Θηβῶν μέγα Πίνδαρος· ἔπνεε τερπνὰ  
ἡδυμελεῖ φθόγγου Μοῦσα Σιμωνίδειω.

<sup>71</sup> Dionys. Halic. ii 6 *Σιμωνίδου παρατρέπει τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων, τῆς συνθέσεως τὴν ἀκρίβειαν*: elsewhere he is reckoned by him among the poets who excelled *τῷ τῆς γλαφυρᾶς καὶ ἀνθηρᾶς συνθέσεως χαρακτῆρι*: cf. *de comp. verb.* p. 342 ed. Schaefer.

Simonides' compositions, to judge from the waifs and strays we have left, justify the definition which he himself is said by Plutarch to have given of poetry as *ζωγραφία λαλοῦσα*: see the tract *de gloria Atheniensium* p. 346 π, quoted by F. G. Schneidewin *l.c.* p. xlv.

perfectly harmonious whole. The spirit of *σωφροσύνη* 'reserve' or 'tempered self-restraint,' and absence of enthusiasm for which the Ionians of Keos were noted<sup>72</sup>, 'a modest consciousness of human weakness and recognition of a superior power are everywhere traceable in his poetry<sup>73</sup>,' and give it a mellow tone as they do to his philosophy also and moral precepts. It was this same trait in his character which made the younger generation of Athenians, typified by Pheidippidēs in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes<sup>74</sup>, despise him as old-fashioned, whereas with their ancestors, the heroes of Marathon (*μαραθωνόμαχοι*), he was an object of worship.

The system of patronage under which he lived seems to have destroyed the independence of his character, and in this respect he contrasts unfavourably with Pindar, whose great desire was to raise his art above the reproach of sordid servility from which Simonides was not exempt, as appears from

<sup>72</sup> Aristides *περὶ παραφθέγμ.* III p. 645 A: *τὴν γε τοῦ Σιμωνίδου σωφροσύνην ὁλοθα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλ' ἕτεροι ἴσασιν, ὥς ἐν τι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐκείνου τὸ γνωριμώτατον σχεδὸν καὶ περὶ τὴν ποίησιν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βίον*, quoted by Schneidewin *l.c.* p. xxiii. Cf. Plat. *Protag.* p. 341 E with Stallbaum's note.

<sup>73</sup> See e. g. *Encomium* fr. 10, 6 *ἅπαντα γὰρ ἐστὶ θεῶν ἥσσω*, *Epinic.* fr. 33

*οὐτὶς ἄνευ θεῶν*

*ἀρετὰν λάβειν, οὐ πόλις, οὐ βροτὸς·*

*Θεὸς ὁ παμμήτις· ἀπήμαντον γὰρ οὐδὲν*

*ἔστω ἐν αὐτοῖς,*

and the rebuke which he administered to Pausanias (*Plutarch Cons. ad Apoll.* p. 105 A) for his *ὑπερηφανία* by reminding him *ὅτι ἀνθρώπος ἐστὶ*.

<sup>74</sup> v. 1855.

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allusions in the contemporary poet<sup>75</sup> and from various anecdotes<sup>76</sup> recorded of him. The wise and philosophic discourses of Simonides at the court of his patron at Syracuse have been made the subject of an allusion in Plato<sup>77</sup>, as some of his gnomic sayings are discussed in the dialogues, e.g. the

<sup>75</sup> See Prof. Jebb *l.c.* p. 159, who refers to *Isthm.* II 1—11, *Pyth.* III 54, Schneidewin *l.c.* p. xxiv—xxxii.

<sup>76</sup> e.g. the story in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (III 2, 14) that he was once asked to write an *ἐπινίκιον* by a victor in the mule-race, when, being offended with the smallness of the fee offered, he declined to compose an ode on ἡμίονοι 'half-asses.' But when the terms were raised, he wrote at once χαίρετ', ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρες ἱππων, 'hurrah for the daughters of the storm-footed mares!' and yet, adds Aristotle καὶ τῶν ὄνων θυγατέρες ἦσαν, 'they were daughters of the asses as well.' Again in II 16, 2 his *mot* on the comparative advantages of money and wisdom in answer to Hieron's wife is quoted: γενέσθαι κρείττον πλούσιον· τοὺς σοφοὺς γὰρ ἔφη ὄραν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων θύραις διατρίβοντας. His greed of gain is also alluded to by Aristophanes in the *Peace* v. 697 ff., Schol. ad Pindar. *Isthm.* II 5 νῦν, φησί, μισθοῦ συντάττονσι τοὺς ἐπινίκιους πρῶτον Σιμωνίδου προκαταρξαμένον· ἐνθεν καὶ Καλλιμάχος·

οὐ γὰρ ἐργάτιν τρέφω

τὴν Μοῦσαν, ὡς ὁ Κεῖος Ἰλλίχου νέπου,

λέγει δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Σιμωνίδην, ὡς φιλάργυρον διασέρων τὸν ἄνδρα, Chamaeleon ap. Athenae. xiv c 72 p. 656 D ὁντως δὲ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς κίμβιξ ὁ Σιμωνίδης καὶ ἀσχροκέρδης, Phaedr. *fab.* IV 23. Socrates in Plato (*Protag.* p. 346 B) says that Simonides was often induced to write encomiums on tyrants and other powerful men without being convinced of the justice of his praises, as in the case of Skopas, son of Kreon, referred to above p. xxix.

<sup>77</sup> *Epist.* II περὶ Ἰέρωνος ὅταν διαλέγωνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ Πανσανίου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου, χαίρουσι τὴν Σιμωνίδου ξυνουσίαν παραφέροντες ἃ τε ἔπραξε καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς.

*Protagoras* p. 339 B, and the *Republ.* I p. 331 E. The celebrated evasion of the question on the nature of God, implying that our safest eloquence concerning Him is our silence, is ascribed by Cicero to Simonides as a reply to Hieron<sup>78</sup>.

3. *On the τυραννίς,—its origin, different forms and place in the political development of Greece*

The word *τύραννος* originally meant nothing more than 'ruler' and had no invidious secondary meaning associated with it<sup>79</sup>. *Βασιλεῖς*<sup>80</sup> for a 'tyrant' and *ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟC*<sup>81</sup>, as applied to the kings of the early age, were still employed promiscuously after the full de-

<sup>78</sup> de nat. deor. I § 60: *roges me quid aut quale sit deus, auctore utar Simonide, de quo cum quaesivisset hoc idem tyrannus Hiero, deliberandi sibi unum diem postulavit; cum idem ex eo postridie quaereret, biduum petivit; cum saepius duplicaret numerum dierum, admiransque Hiero requireret cur ita faceret, 'Quia, quanto diutius considero,' inquit 'tanto mihi res videtur obscurior.'* Cf. Minuc. Fel. Octav. c. 13.

<sup>79</sup> Wachsmuth *Hist. Antiq. of the Greeks* Eng. Tr. Vol. I p. 414: the word *τυραννίς* occurs first in Archilochus ap. Plutarch. *Mor.* p. 470 c where he is speaking of Gyges the Lydian prince.

<sup>80</sup> e.g. in Herod. III 52, v 44 where the term is applied to Telys, v 110 to the tyrants of Kypros, v 23 to Skythēs tyrant of Zanklê. Kypselos is spoken of in an oracular response as *βασιλεὺς κλεινοῦ Κορίνθου*, v 92, 5, and immediately afterwards Herodotus calls his government a *τυραννίς*. Thucydides I 13 contrasts *τυραννίδες* with limited hereditary monarchies (*ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι*).

<sup>81</sup> Herod. I 7 ἢ Κανδαύλης *τύραννος Σαρδέων*, VIII 187.

velopment of democracy. The distinction between the latter as something worthy of universal reprobation<sup>82</sup> and the former as an object worthy of love and affection was an immediate outcome of a deviation from paternal government on the part of the tyranny and its adoption of a system of cruelty and unnatural oppression.

The ancient τυραννίς must be regarded as a singular feature of ancient society and one of the chief links in the development of political phenomena in the history of the Hellenic states. It was not an immediate continuation of, or a degeneration from, the princely power of the early age, since republican institutions in fact formed the link by which it was connected with the ancient kingship<sup>83</sup>. It began in demagogy in this way:—

In most of the Hellenic states from the seventeenth century till the middle of the fifth B.C. the

<sup>82</sup> Cp. Polyb. II c. 59 where it is said of Aristomachos of Argos: οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν γεγονέναι τύραννον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τυράννων πεφυκέναι. ταύτης δὲ μείζω κατηγορίαν ἢ πικροτέραν οὐδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ῥαδίως δύναται· ἂν οὐδεὶς· αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦνομα περιέχει τὴν ἀσεβεστάτην ἐμφασιν καὶ πάσας περιέληψε τὰς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀδικίας καὶ παρανομίας, Eur. *Suppl.* 429

οὐδὲν τυράννου δυσμενέστερον πόλει,  
 ὅπου τὸ μὲν πρῶτιστον οὐκ εἰσὶν νόμοι  
 κοινοί, κρατεῖ δ' εἰς, τὸν νόμον κεκτημένος  
 αὐτὸς παρ' αὐτῷ.

<sup>83</sup> Cornelius Nepos *Milt.* c. 8, 3: omnes autem et dicuntur et habentur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quae libertate usa est.

oligarchical factions that had overthrown and succeeded the kingly authority had in their turn been conquered, and this double revolution was sufficient evidence that the principles of durable government were wanting. There were neither traditions nor laws strong enough to restrain men<sup>84</sup>. Everything was decided by force. Bold and energetic men put themselves at the head of the people, and the first demagogues were soldiers<sup>85</sup>. After having flattered the Commons and acted as their champions against

<sup>84</sup> Aristot. *Pol.* VIII (v) c. 10, p. 131C<sup>b</sup>, 7: ὑπάρχει δ' ἡ γένησις εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐναντίων ἐκατέρα τῶν μοναρχιῶν (sc. kingship and tyranny): ἡ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεία πρὸς βοήθειαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι γέγονεν, καὶ καθίσταται βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καθ' ὑπεροχὴν ἀρετῆς ἢ πράξεων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἢ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν τοιοῦτου γένους, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους, ὅπως ὁ δῆμος ἀδικῆται μὴ δὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν i.e. 'the origin to begin with of each of these two forms of monarchical government is different. Kingship is instituted for the protection of the better classes against the commons, and a king is appointed from among the members of the better classes on the ground of his own superiority in virtue or virtuous actions or the superiority of a virtuous race, whereas the tyrant (is taken) from the commons, i.e. the mass, to act against the notables, to save the commons from oppression by them.'

<sup>85</sup> Aristot. *ib.* l. 14: σχεδὸν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν τυράννων γεγόνασιν ἐκ δημαγωγῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν, πιστευθέντες ἐκ τοῦ διαβάλλειν τοὺς γνωρίμους. Cf. c. 5 p. 1305<sup>a</sup>, 7: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων, ὅτε γένοιτο ὁ αὐτὸς δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγός, εἰς τυραννίδα μετέβαλλον· σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων ἐκ δημαγωγῶν γεγόνασιν i.e. 'in ancient times, whenever the functions of demagogue and general were combined in the same person, (democracies) were changed into a tyranny: for in almost all cases the ancient tyrants had once been demagogues.'

the oligarchs<sup>86</sup>, these chieftains made them their slaves. The outcome was the same in almost all towns. A single adventurer usurped the sovereign power and ruled arbitrarily. The safety and welfare of his fellow-citizens depended solely upon his personal proclivities. 'Some tyrannies' says Aristotle<sup>87</sup> 'were established in this manner, after the States had attained considerable dimensions, others at an earlier period originated with ambitious kings outstepping their hereditary rights or else holders of some supreme office in free States who converted their lawful prerogatives into tyranny<sup>88</sup>. In all such cases their

<sup>86</sup> Aristot. *ib.* v c. 5 p. 1305<sup>a</sup>, 20 οἱ προστάται τοῦ δήμου, ὅτε πολεμικοὶ γένοιντο, τυραννίδι ἐπιτίθεντο. πάντες δὲ τοῦτο ἔδρων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πιστευθέντες, ἡ δὲ πῖστις ἦν ἡ ἀπέχθεια ἡ πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους i.e. 'the leaders of the people, whenever they were men of military genius, used to try to make themselves tyrants; and they did so in all cases because they possessed the confidence of the commons, and the ground of their confidence was their hatred of the wealthy classes.'

<sup>87</sup> *ib.* c. 10 p. 1310<sup>b</sup>, 16.

<sup>88</sup> Aristot. *ib.* c. 8 p. 1308<sup>a</sup>, 19: οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ῥάδιον κακουργῆσαι ὀλίγον χρόνον ἄρχοντας καὶ πολὺν, ἐπεὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ δημοκρατίαις γίνονται τυραννίδες· ἡ γὰρ οἱ μέγιστοι ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἐπιτίθενται τυραννίδι, ἐνθα μὲν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἐνθα δ' οἱ δυνάσται, ἢ οἱ τὰς μεγίστας ἄρχοντες ἀρχάς, ὅταν πολὺν χρόνον ἄρχωσιν i.e. 'abuse of power is not so easy on the part of State officers, where the tenure of office is short, as where it is long, for it is the long tenure which in oligarchies and democracies is a cause of the establishment of Tyrannies. For it is either the most powerful in the two polities, who attempt to seize tyrannical power, viz. the Demagogues in the one, the Dynasts in the other, or else those who hold the highest official positions, whenever their tenure is a long one.'

object was easily effected, as their kingly authority or official position already gave them the power if they had but the will.' Aristotle gives as examples of tyrants of the first kind Panaetius at Leontini, Kypselus at Corinth, Peisistratus at Athens, Dionysius at Syracuse and others; of the second Pheidon at Argos; of the third the Ionian tyrants and Phalaris of Agrigentum.

The beginnings of tyranny were not attended with difficulty. The people in their hostility to the rich and powerful supported the usurper, and applauded their spoliation and proscription. But little by little distrust of their new master began to spread among the commons. Meetings and reunions became objects of suspicion to the tyrant, who preferred that the citizens should remain unknown to one another, since isolation and silence rendered them more easy to govern.

In speaking of the vices of Tyranny the same philosopher says that it combines in itself <sup>Vices of</sup> the worst features of extreme democracy <sup>tyranny.</sup> and extreme oligarchy: from the first it borrows its hostility to the citizens of position (*τοῖς γνωρίμοις*), whom it regards as rivals and obstacles to the tyrant's authority and so puts them to death both secretly and openly and banishes them from the State; from the second, the pursuit of wealth as the chief end (as enabling the possessor to maintain his body-guard and to gratify his luxurious lusts) and its distrust of the masses (which leads to a general disarmament and oppression of the common people)<sup>109</sup>. Periander

<sup>109</sup> *ib.* VIII (v) p. 1311<sup>a</sup>, 8 ὅτι δ' ἡ τυραννὶς ἔχει κακὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τὰ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, φανερόν· ἐκ μὲν ὅτι



of Corinth was credited with being the author of the demoralising policy traditionally recommended to tyrants. The tyrant was to get rid of prominent characters, to prohibit common meals, clubs and intellectual gatherings, all free social intercourse for relaxation and discussion (which was everything to a Greek community), to discourage education and all that tends to develop high spirit and self-confidence, to do all in his power to prevent his subjects from coming to know or trust each other, and to keep them in a perpetual state of slavery<sup>90</sup>. Other objectionable expedients for securing the continuance of tyranny are to employ spies and eaves-droppers<sup>91</sup>; to promote disunion and sow distrust between individuals, to set class against class, to impoverish his

γαρχίας τὸ τὸ τέλος εἶναι πλοῦτον (οὕτω γὰρ καὶ διαμένειν ἀναγκαῖον μόνως τὴν τε φυλακὴν καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν) καὶ τὸ τῷ πλήθει μηδὲν πιστεύειν (διο καὶ τὴν παραίρεσιν ποιοῦνται τῶν ὀπλων, καὶ τὸ κακοῦν τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπελαύνειν καὶ διοικίζειν ἀμφοτέρων κοινόν, καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος), ἐκ δημοκρατίας δὲ τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς γνωρίμοις καὶ διαφθεῖρειν λάθρα καὶ φανερώς καὶ φυγαδεύειν ὡς ἀντιτέχνους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμποδίσαι. Cf. Hier. II 17, v 1, 2.

<sup>90</sup> *ib.* p. 1313<sup>a</sup>, 36 τούτων (of the modes in which tyrannies are preserved) τὰ πολλὰ φασὶ καταστῆσαι Περικλῆδον τὸν Κορίνθιον· ἔστι δὲ τὰ τε παλαιὰ λεχθέντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν, ὡς οἷόν τε, τῆς τυραννίδος, τὸ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας κολοῦειν καὶ τοὺς φρονηματίας ἀναφεῖν, καὶ μήτε συσσίτια εἶναι μήτε ἐταιρίαν μήτε παιδείαν μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πάντα φυλάττειν ὅθεν εἰώθε γενέσθαι δύο, φρόνημά τε καὶ πίστις, καὶ μήτε σχολὰς μήτε ἄλλους συλλόγους ἐπιτρέπειν γίνεσθαι σχολαστικούς, καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ἐξ ὧν οἱ μάλιστα ἀγνώτες ἀλλήλοις ἔσονται πάντες (ἡ γὰρ γνώσις πίστιν ποιεῖ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους).

<sup>91</sup> See above note 28.

subjects for the support of a body-guard and by costly works (such as the pyramids, the votive offerings of the Kypselidae, the great Olympieion of the Peisistratids and the works of Polykrates at Samos), to be always at war that his subjects may be in continual need of a leader and be kept in constant employment<sup>92</sup>. Heavy taxation was also employed by tyrants, as by Dionysius, who made the Syracusans pay in taxes in five years the full amount of their property<sup>93</sup>. Again the tyrant will be fond of low people<sup>94</sup>, who will cringe to him and serve as puppets for carrying out his purposes; he will discountenance high-minded and independent characters<sup>95</sup>,

<sup>92</sup> Aristot. *ib.* p. 1313<sup>b</sup>, 16 καὶ τὸ διαβάλλειν ἀλλήλους καὶ συγκρούειν καὶ φίλους φίλοις καὶ τὸν δῆμον τοῖς γνωρίμοις (*optimatibus*) καὶ τοῖς πλουσίοις ἑαυτοῖς. καὶ τὸ πένητας ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους τυραννικόν, ὅπως μῆτε φυλακὴ τρέφεται καὶ πρὸς τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν ὄντες ἀσχοιοὶ ὥσιν ἐπιβουλεύειν.

<sup>93</sup> Plato *de rep.* viii p. 566 B, p. 567 A οὐκοῦν καὶ ἵνα χρήματα εἰσφέροντες, πένητες γιγνόμενοι, πρὸς τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκάζονται εἶναι καὶ ἥττον αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλεύωσι; i.e. 'is it not (the tyrant's object) to impoverish his citizens by war-taxes, so that they may be forced to labour for their daily bread and so be less likely to plot against himself?' Arist. *l. c.* p. 1313<sup>b</sup>, 28 ἔστι δὲ καὶ πολεμοποιὸς ὁ τύραννος, ὅπως δὴ ἀσχοιοὶ τε ὦσι καὶ ἡγεμόνος ἐν χρεῖα διατελῶσιν ὄντες.

<sup>94</sup> Aristot. *ib.* p. 1314<sup>a</sup>, 1 πονηρόφιλον ἢ τυραννίς· κολακεύμενοι γὰρ χαίρουσιν, τοῦτο δ' οὐδεὶς ἂν ποιήσσει φρόνημα ἔχων εὐλεύθερον, ἀλλὰ φιλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπεικεῖς ἢ οὐ κολακεύουσιν.

<sup>95</sup> Aristot. *ib.* 1314<sup>a</sup>, 5 καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ χαίρειν σεμνῷ μὴδ' ἐλευθέρῳ τυραννικόν. Cf. Plat. *l. c.* p. 567 n: ὑπεξαίρειν δὴ τούτους πάντας δεῖ τὸν τύραννον, εἰ μέλλει ἄρξαι, ἕως ἂν μῆτε φίλων μὴτ' ἐχθρῶν λίπη μὴδὲνα, ὅτου τι ὄφελος...ὁξέως δὲ δεῖ ὁρᾶν αὐτόν, τίς ἀνδρείος, τίς μεγαλόφρων, τίς φρόνιμος, τίς πλούσιος...τούτοις ἅπασιν ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ, εἴτε βούλεται εἴτε μὴ, πολεμῶ εἶναι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν ἕως ἂν

he will choose foreigners rather than citizens as his daily associates<sup>96</sup>. In short, the ~~three~~ objects of a tyrant are to sow distrust among the citizens, to incapacitate them for action and to destroy their self-respect<sup>97</sup>. The evil effects of a tyranny administered on such principles as these which, though not ineffective

The three  
objects of a  
tyrant.

*καθήρη τὴν πόλιν* i.e. 'if a tyrant is to keep up his authority, he must put all these people quietly out of the way, until he has left himself not a friend nor an enemy who is worth anything ...he must keenly notice who is manly, who high-minded, who prudent, who wealthy...whether he wishes it or not, he is compelled to be the enemy of all these and to plot against them, till he has cleared the city of them.'

These passages afford an excellent illustration of Hieron's remarks in this Dialogue ch. v § 1 f.

<sup>96</sup> *Aristot. ib. c. 10 p. 1314\**, 10 καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι συσσίτοις καὶ συνημερευταῖς ξενικοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ πολιτικοῖς τυραννικόν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν πολεμίου τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἀντιποιουμένους.

<sup>97</sup> *ib. 27* πάντα γὰρ ἂν ἀναγάγοι τις τὰ τυραννικὰ πρὸς ταύτας τὰς ὑποθέσεις, τὰ μὲν ὅπως μὴ πιστεύωσιν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δ' ὅπως μὴ δύνωνται, τὰ δ' ὅπως μικρὸν φρονῶσιν i.e. 'for all the measures of a tyranny may be referred to one or other of these fundamental principles, viz. to prevent mutual confidence among the citizens, to incapacitate them for action and to degrade their spirit.' Cf. *ib. 15* στοχάζεται γὰρ ἡ τυραννὶς τριῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ μικρὰ φρονεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους (οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἂν μικροψυχος ἐπιβουλεύσειεν), δευτέρου δὲ τοῦ διαπιστεῖν ἀλλήλοις (οὐ καταλύεται γὰρ πρότερον τυραννὶς πρὶν ἢ πιστεύωσι τινες ἑαυτοῖς· διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐπικεικίσι πολεμοῦσιν ὡς βλαβεροῖς πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀξιοῦν ἀρχεσθαι δεσποτικῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ πιστοὺς καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶναι καὶ μὴ καταγορεύειν μήτε ἑαυτῶν μήτε τῶν ἄλλων)· τρίτον δ' ἀδυναμία τῶν πραγμάτων· (οὐθεὶς γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις, ὥστε οὐδὲ τυραννίδα καταλύειν μὴ διωμάμεως ὑπαρχούσης).

for their purpose, Aristotle condemns as immoral<sup>98</sup>, must have been felt by rich and cultivated classes even more than by the poor, for to them it was deprivation of all that was best in Hellenic life<sup>99</sup>. The philosopher suggests less objectionable means for securing its continuance. He recommends the tyrant, if he wishes to safeguard his tyranny, to approximate it to a kingship<sup>100</sup>. He advises him to rule as the public-spirited and thrifty steward of the State, not, as a tyrant, wasting the public treasure, so as to excite the indignation of his subjects at seeing the money wrested from their work and thrifty labour lavished on mistresses, foreigners and artists, but giving account of all receipts and expenses<sup>101</sup>. He should endeavour to inspire reverence rather than fear in his subjects<sup>102</sup> and, even if he disregards all other virtues, he should at least not disregard political

Conciliatory  
measures  
suggested by  
Aristotle.

<sup>98</sup> *ib.* 12 ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τυραννικὰ μὲν καὶ σωτήρια τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐδὲν δ' ἐλλείπει μοχθηρίας.

<sup>99</sup> Newman, Aristotle's *Politics* Vol. I p. 546.

<sup>100</sup> Aristot. *l.c.* p. 1314<sup>a</sup>, 34 τῆς τυραννίδος σωτηρία ποιεῖν αὐτὴν (τὴν ἀρχήν) βασιλικωτέραν.

<sup>101</sup> *ib.* 40 δοκεῖν φροντίζειν τῶν κοινῶν, μήτε δαπανῶντα <εἰς> δωρεὰς τοιαύτας ἐφ' αἷς τὰ πλήθη χαλεπαίνουσιν, ὅταν ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὲν λαμβάνουσιν ἐργαζομένων καὶ πονούντων γλισχρῶς, διδῶσι δ' ἐταίrais καὶ ξένοις καὶ τεχνίταις ἀφθόγως, λόγον τε ἀποδιδόντα τῶν λαμβανομένων καὶ δαπανωμένων (οὕτως γὰρ ἂν τις διοικῶν οἰκονόμος ἀλλ' οὐ τύραννος εἶναι δόξειεν). Cf. *ib.* p. 1314<sup>b</sup>, 16 ὅπως τε αὐτὸν <δεῖ> παρασκευάζειν φύλακα καὶ ταμίαν ὡς κοινῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς ἰδίων; *ib.* 37 κατασκευάζειν γὰρ δεῖ καὶ κοσμεῖν τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἐπίτροπον ὄντα καὶ μὴ τύραννον. Cf. Hier. viii 9.

<sup>102</sup> *ib.* 18 φαίνεσθαι μὴ χαλεπὸν ἀλλὰ σεμνόν, ἔτι δὲ τοιοῦτον ὥστε μὴ φοβέσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αἰδέσθαι.

virtue<sup>103</sup>; he should be moderate in his sensual indulgences and not parade them before the public<sup>104</sup>; he should be particular in his religious observances<sup>105</sup>, without appearing superstitious. He should dispense his honours personally, but his punishments should be inflicted by the agency of others<sup>106</sup>, in a paternal spirit rather than with haughty indifference<sup>107</sup>. In short, his object should be to appear in the eyes of his subjects as a householder or king, not as a tyrant, as a guardian of the public interests and not a self-seeker, to cultivate moderation and avoid all extravagance; to win the favour of the populace by flattery, that of the upper classes by affability, so that his subjects may be morally elevated instead of being degraded, and that he may be himself not an object of hatred or fear, and his power more secure and lasting<sup>108</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> *ib.* 21 διὸ δεῖ κἂν μὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῆται, ἀλλὰ τῆς πολιτικῆς. (Susemihl, however, adopts Madvig's reading *πολεμικῆς*.)

<sup>104</sup> *ib.* 32 μάλιστα μὲν μετριάξειν τοῖς τοιούτοις (sc. ταῖς ἀπολαύσει ταῖς σωματικαῖς), εἰ δὲ μή, τό γε φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις διαφεύγειν.

<sup>105</sup> *ib.* 38 ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς φαίνεσθαι ἀεὶ σπουδάζοντα διαφερόντως. . . . δεῖ δὲ ἀνευ ἀβελτερίας φαίνεσθαι τοιοῦτον.

<sup>106</sup> *ib.* p. 1315<sup>a</sup>, 6 τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἀπονέμειν αὐτόν, τὰς δὲ κολάσεις δι' ἐτέρων. Such is the advice given by Simonides to Hieron, ix 4.

<sup>107</sup> *ib.* 21 τὰς μὲν κολάσεις πατρικῶς φαίνεσθαι ποιούμενον καὶ μὴ δι' ὀλιγωρίαν.

<sup>108</sup> *ib.* 41 δεῖ μὴ τυραννικὸν ἀλλ' οἰκονόμον καὶ βασιλικὸν εἶναι φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις καὶ μὴ σφετεριστὴν ἀλλ' ἐπίτροπον, καὶ τὰς μετρώτητας τοῦ βίου διώκειν, μὴ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν γνωρίζουσιν καθομιλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς δημαγωγεῖν. ἐκ γὰρ

The rule of tyrants being generally (though not always) violent and cruel was for that very reason of short duration. The longest, that of the Orthagoridae at Sikyon (in the 27th Olympiad), lasted only a century; the next most permanent was that of the Kypselidae at Corinth (about Ol. 31), which lasted between seventy and eighty years. The explanation of this is that they behaved with moderation to their subjects and submitted themselves in many cases to the laws<sup>109</sup>, while Kypselus never even employed a body-guard<sup>110</sup>. The third longest tyranny and the last of the Hellenic continent was that of the Pisistratidae at Athens, which lasted in all thirty-five years<sup>111</sup>. With these exceptions that of Hieron and Gelon

The short duration of tyrannies.

τούτων ἀναγκαῖον οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι καλλίῳ καὶ ζηλωτοτέραν τῷ βελτιόνων ἀρχεῖν καὶ μὴ τεταπεινωμένων μηδὲ μισούμενων καὶ φοβούμενων διατελεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι πολυχρονιωτέραν.

<sup>109</sup> *ib.* p. 1315<sup>b</sup>, 11 πασῶν ὀλιγοχροσιώτεροι τῶν πολιτειῶν εἰσιν ὀλιγαρχία καὶ τυραννίς· πλεῖστον γὰρ χρόνον ἐγένετο ἡ περὶ Σικυῶνα τυραννίς, ἢ τῶν Ὀρθαγόρου παίδων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀρθαγόρου· ἔτη δ' αὕτη διέμεινεν ἑκατόν. τούτου δὲ αἴτιον ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐχρόνῳ μετρίως καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς νόμοις ἐδοῦλεον... δευτέρα δὲ περὶ Κόρινθον ἢ τῶν Κυψελιδῶν· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη διετέλεσεν ἔτη τρία καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ μῆνας ἕξ... τὰ δ' αἰτία ταῦτα καὶ ταύτης· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κύψελος δημαγωγὸς ἦν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσεν ἀδορυφόρητος, Περίανδρος δ' ἐγένετο μὲν τυραννικὸς ἀλλὰ πολεμικὸς. τρίτη δ' ἡ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν Ἀθήνησιν. οὐκ ἐγένετο δὲ συνεχής, τὰ δὲ πάντα ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἡ <τῶν> περὶ Ἰέρωνα καὶ Γέλωνα περὶ Συρακούσας. ἔτη δ' οὐδ' αὕτη πολλὰ διέμεινεν ἀλλὰ τὰ σύμπαντα δυεῖν δέοντα εἰκοσι.

<sup>110</sup> Herodotus v 92, 8 does not agree with this statement.

<sup>111</sup> *B.C.* 560—510. Of the 33 years from 560 Pisistratos had been tyrant 17.

at Syracuse was the longest, although it lasted only eighteen years. Besides the tyrants of Sikyon, Corinth and Athens, we find also recorded as tyrants of the earlier age, i.e. somewhere about the sixth century, Theagenes of Megara, Prokles of Epidauros<sup>112</sup>, and at a later period tyrants arose in Ionia at the same time that Gyges began to reign in Lydia. The tyranny which subsisted in the Grecian States of Asia, after the commencement of the Persian domination was less the outcome of their own political system than a Persian satrapy. Tyrants of this description were Polykrates and his brother Syloson at Samos<sup>113</sup>, Cadmus in Cos<sup>114</sup>, Histiaeus and Aristagoras in Miletus<sup>115</sup>, Lygdamis at Naxos<sup>116</sup> with others<sup>117</sup>.

‘In Sicily the tyranny had the most prosperous career; Syracuse in particular not only followed the example of the mother-city, Corinth, but even surpassed it, and that at a time when the last tyrant of the Grecian continent, Hippias of Athens, had been expelled, and popular freedom was advancing with rapid strides. The first of the list is Phalaris in Agrigentum B.C. 565—549; he was succeeded there by Alkamenes and Alkander, apparently rather *αἰσχυρῆται* than tyrants; afterwards Therôn, who probably inherited from his father Aenesidêmus the tyranny of Leontini, where in an early age Panaetius

<sup>112</sup> Herod. III 50.

<sup>113</sup> Herod. III 39, 134—149.

<sup>114</sup> *ib.* VII 164.

<sup>115</sup> *ib.* IV 138, V 137.

<sup>116</sup> *ib.* I 61, 64.

<sup>117</sup> See *Chron. Tables of Greek History* by C. Peter, Eng. tr. by G. Chawner, Cambridge, 1882, p. 18.



had been tyrant; but marching from Agrigentum he afterwards expelled the tyrant Texillos of Himera, the son-in-law of Anaxilas the Rhegian, and likewise reigned over Himera. His son Thrasydaeus was expelled (B.C. 473) by the Agrigentines. Pythagoras was tyrant of Selinus at the time the noble Dorieus came from Sparta to Sicily (B.C. 519); the companion of the latter, Euryleon, deposed Pythagoras and then reigned over Minoa (Herod. v 46) as well as Selinus. The civil dissensions in Gela ended with the tyranny of Kleander (B.C. 505); he was (B.C. 498) succeeded by his brave brother Hippokratês, who reduced Zankle (Herod. vi 23, 24), where Scythês, the father of Kadmos, the subsequent tyrant of Kos, had ruled before; he was followed by Gelon. Gelon transferred (B.C. 485) the tyranny to Syracuse, whither he brought back the expelled γάμοροι, and extended his authority far around, over Megara, Euboea etc. (Herod. vii 155, 156); after him governed Hieron and then Thrasybulos, his brothers. The latter of these was driven out by the people (B.C. 466). Lower Italy likewise had its tyrants; Anaxilas in Rhegium in B.C. 493; after him in B.C. 476 his noble-minded slave Smikythos, guardian of the children of Anaxilas, who were expelled soon after their accession to power: Kleinias in Krotôn; Telys in Sybaris, originally a demagogue hostile to the nobility, Nearchos or Demylos in Elea, B.C. 500; and in the Campanian Cuma, Aristodêmus or Malakus, who was contemporary with the younger Tarquin.' WACHSMUTH *Historical Antiquities of the Greeks* Vol. i p. 407 f. E. Tr.

The Spartans were especially active in expelling the tyrants and this policy was one of the causes which secured for them the hegemony of Greece<sup>118</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> Aristot. *Pol.* p. 1312<sup>b</sup>, 7 Λακεδαιμόνιοι πλείστας κατέλυσαν τυραννίδας. Cf. Herod. v 92, Thuc. i 18 who extols Sparta as the



deliverer of the Hellenic continent from tyrants. His testimony is strictly admissible only so far as it relates to Athens, but it is of sufficient importance to warrant us in applying it more extensively. Plutarch *de malign. Herod.* c. 21 καίτοι πόλιν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις οὔτε φιλότιμον οὕτως οὔτε μισοτύραννον ἴσμεν, ὡς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, γενομένην; but the examples, which he has collected in support of his assertion, are a number of doubtful statements made in a spirit of opposition to Herodotus. See Wachsmuth *l.c.* i p. 421 f.

## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

### ΙΕΡΩΝ Η ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ

Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητῆς ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς Ἰ  
Ἱέρωνα τὸν τύραννον. σχολῆς δὲ γενομένης  
ἀμφοῖν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· Ἄρ' ἂν μοι ἐβελήσαις,  
ὦ Ἱέρων, διηγῆσασθαι ἃ εἰκὸς εἰδέναι σε βέλτιον  
5 ἐμοῦ;

Καὶ ποῖα ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ὅποια δὴ  
ἐγὼ βέλτιον ἂν εἰδείην σοῦ οὕτως ὄντος σοφοῦ  
ἀνδρός;

Οἶδά σε, ἔφη, ἐγὼ καὶ ἰδιώτην γεγενημένον καὶ 2  
10 νῦν τύραννον ὄντα· εἰκὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρων πεπειρα-  
μένον εἰδέναι σε μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ, πῇ διαφέρει ὁ  
τυραννικὸς καὶ ἰδιωτικὸς βίος εἰς εὐφροσύνας τε  
καὶ λύπας ἀνθρώποις.

Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, οὐχὶ σύ, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε ἔτι 3  
15 ἰδιώτης εἶ, ὑπέμνησάς με τὰ ἐν τῷ ἰδιωτικῷ βίῳ;  
οὕτω γὰρ ἂν σοι οἶμαι μάλιστα ἐγὼ δύνασθαι  
δηλοῦν τὰ διαφέροντα ἐν ἑκατέρῳ.

Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε· Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἰδιώτας 4  
ἐγωγε, ὦ Ἱέρων, δοκῶ μοι καταμεμαθηκέναι διὰ  
20 μὲν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὁράμασιν ἡδομένους τε καὶ

ἀχθομένους, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὥτων ἀκούσμασι, διὰ δὲ  
 τῶν ῥινῶν ὀσμαῖς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ στόματος σίτοις τε  
 5 καὶ ποτοῖς· τὰ δὲ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ σκληρὰ  
 καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ κοῦφα καὶ βαρέα ὅλῳ τῷ σώματί  
 μοι δοκοῦμεν, ἔφη, κρίνοντες ἡδεσθαί τε καὶ 25  
 λυπεῖσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· ἀγαθοῖς δὲ καὶ κακοῖς  
 ἔστι μὲν ὅτε δι' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς μοι δοκοῦμεν  
 ἡδεσθαί τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι, ἔστι δ' ὅτε κοινῇ διὰ  
 6 τε τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦ σώματος. τῷ δ' ὕπνῳ

ὅτι μὲν ἡδόμεθα, δοκῶ μοι αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ 30  
 καὶ ᾧ τινι καὶ ὁπότε, ταῦτα μᾶλλον πῶς, ἔφη, δοκῶ  
 μοι ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ οὐδὲν ἴσως τοῦτο θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὰ  
 ἐν τῷ ἐγρηγορέναι σαφεστέρας ἡμῖν τὰς αἰσθήσεις  
 παρέχεται ἢ τὰ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ.

7 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἰέρων ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἐγὼ μὲν 35  
 τοῖνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ἔξω τούτων ὧν εἴρηκας  
 σύ γε οὐδ' ὅπως ἂν αἰσθοιτό τινας ἄλλου ὁ τύραννος  
 ἔχοιμ' ἂν εἰπεῖν, ὥστε μέχρι γε τούτου οὐκ οἶδ'  
 ἐν τίνι διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικὸς βίος τοῦ ἰδιωτικοῦ.

8 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖσδε, ἔφη, 40  
 διαφέρει· πολλαπλάσια μὲν δι' ἐκάστου τούτων  
 εὐφραίνεται, πολὺ δὲ μείω τὰ λυπηρὰ ἔχει.

Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπεν· Οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ὦ Σιμωνί-  
 δη, ταῦτα, ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι μείω πολὺ εὐφραίνονται  
 οἱ τύραννοι τῶν μετρίως διαγόντων ἰδιωτῶν, πολὺ 45  
 δὲ πλείω καὶ μείζω λυποῦνται.

9 Ἄπιστα λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης. εἰ γὰρ οὕτω  
 ταῦτ' εἶχε, πῶς ἂν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπεθύμουν τυραν-  
 νεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν δοκούντων ἰκανωτάτων ἀνδρῶν  
 εἶναι; πῶς δὲ πάντες ἐζήλουν ἂν τοὺς τυράννους; 50

"Οτι ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ἄπειροι ὄντες 10  
 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦνται περὶ αὐτοῦ.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ πειράσομαί σε διδάσκειν, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω,  
 ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ σὲ  
 55 δοκῶ μεμῆσθαι ἀρξάμενον λέγειν. πρῶτον μὲν 11  
 γὰρ ἐν τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὄψεως θεάμασι λογιζόμενος  
 εὕρισκω μειονεκτοῦντας τοὺς τυράννους. ἄλλα μὲν  
 γε ἐν ἄλλῃ <sup>χωρῇ</sup> ἐστὶν ἀξιοθέατα· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων  
 ἕκαστα οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται ἔρχονται, καὶ εἰς πόλεις ἅς  
 60 ἂν βούλωνται θεαμάτων ἕνεκα καὶ εἰς τὰς κοινὰς  
 πανηγύρεις, ἔνθα τὰ ἀξιοθεατότατα δοκεῖ ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις συναγείρεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τύραννοι οὐ μάλα 12  
 ἀμφὶ θεωρίας ἔχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἰέναι αὐτοῖς  
 ἀσφαλὲς ὅπου μὴ κρείττονες τῶν παρόντων μέλ-  
 65 λουσιν ἔσεσθαι, οὔτε τὰ οἴκοι κέκτηνται ἐχυρά,  
 ὥστε ἄλλοις παρακαταθεμένους ἀποδῆμειν. φοβε-  
 ρὸν γάρ, μὴ ἅμα στερηθῶσι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀδύνατοι  
 γένωνται τιμωρῆσασθαι τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας. εἴποις 13  
 οὖν ἂν ἴσως σύ, Ἄλλ' ἄρα ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς τὰ  
 70 τοιαῦτα καὶ οἴκοι μένουσι. ναὶ μὰ Δί', ὦ  
 Σιμωνίδη, ὀλίγα γε τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ταῦτα  
 τοιαῦτα ὄντα οὕτω τίμια πωλεῖται τοῖς τυράννοις,  
 ὥστε οἱ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι καὶ ὅτιοῦν ἀξιοῦσι πολλα-  
πλάσια λαβόντες ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ἀπέναι παρὰ  
 75 τοῦ τυράννου ἢ ὅσα ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ παρὰ  
 πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων κτῶνται.

Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν Ἄλλ', εἰ τοῖς θεάμασι 14  
 μειονεκτεῖτε, διὰ γέ τοι τῆς ἀκοῆς πλεονεκτεῖτε.  
 ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἡδίστου ἀκροάματος, ἐπαίνου, οὔποτε  
 80 σπανίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἱ παρόντες ὑμῖν πάντα

καὶ ὅς' ἂν λέγητε καὶ ὅς' ἂν ποιήτε ἐπαινοῦσι.  
τοῦ δ' αὖ χαλεπωτάτου ἀκροάματος, <sup>λοιδορίας,</sup>  
ἀνήκοοί ἐστε· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐθέλει τύραννον κατ'  
ὀφθαλμοὺς κακηγορεῖν.

- 15 Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπε· Καὶ τί οἶει, ἔφη, τοὺς μὴ <sup>85</sup>  
λέγοντας κακῶς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν εἰδῇ τις σαφῶς  
ὅτι οἱ σιωπῶντες οὗτοι πάντες κακόνιοι εἰσὶ τῷ  
τυράννῳ; ἢ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας τί δοκεῖς εὐφραί-  
νειν, ὅταν ὑποπτοὶ ὦσιν ἕνεκα τοῦ κολακεύειν τοὺς  
ἐπαίνους ποιεῖσθαι;

- 16 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε· Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ναὶ μὰ τὸν  
Δία ἔγωγέ σοι, Ἰέρων, πάνυ συγχωρῶ, τοὺς ἐπαί-  
νους παρὰ τῶν ἐλευθερωτάτων ἡδίστους εἶναι,  
ἀλλ', ὅρῳ, ἐκεῖνό γε οὐκ ἂν ἔτι πείσαις ἀνθρώπων  
οὐδένα, ὡς οὐχί, δι' ὧν τρεφόμεθα οἱ ἄνθρωποι, <sup>95</sup>  
πολὺ πλείω ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐφραίνεσθε.

- 17 Καὶ οἰδᾷ γε, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι τούτῳ κρί-  
νουσιν οἱ πλείστοι ἥδιον ἡμᾶς καὶ πίνειν καὶ ἐσθίειν  
τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὅτι δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἂν  
δειπνήσαι τὸ ἡμῖν παρατιθέμενον δεῖπνον ἢ τὸ <sup>100</sup>  
ἑαυτοῖς· τὸ γὰρ τὰ εἰωθότα ὑπερβάλλον, τοῦτο

- 18 παρέχει τὰς ἡδονάς· διὸ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἡδέως  
προσδέχονται τὰς ἐορτάς· πλὴν οὐχ οἱ τύραννοι·  
ἐκπλεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ παρεσκευασμένοι οὐδεμίαν  
ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἔχουσιν αἰ τράπεζαι αὐτῶν ἐπίδοσιν· <sup>105</sup>  
ὥστε ταύτῃ πρῶτον τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος

- 19 μειονεκτοῦσι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ἐκεῖνο  
εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἔμπειρος εἶ, ὅτι ἔσθῃ ἂν πλείω  
τις παραθῇται τὰ περιττὰ τῶν ἱκανῶν, τοσούτῳ  
θᾶπτον κόρος ἐμπίπτει τῆς ἐδωδῆς· ὥστε καὶ τῷ <sup>110</sup>



χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς μειονεκτεῖ ὁ παρατιθέμενος  
πολλὰ τῶν μετρίως διαιτωμένων.

Ἄλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δῖ', ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅσον ἂν 20  
χρόνον ἡ ψυχὴ προσίηται, τοῦτον πολὺ μᾶλλον  
115 ἡδονται οἱ ταῖς πολυτελεστέραις παρασκευαῖς  
τρεφόμενοι τῶν τὰ εὐτελέστερα παρατιθεμένων.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, τὸν ἐκάστῳ 21  
ἡδόμενον μάλιστα, τοῦτον οἶε καὶ ἐρωτικώτατα  
ἔχειν τοῦ ἔργου τούτου;

120 Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

Ἦ οὖν ὁρᾷς τι τοὺς τυράννους ἡδίων ἐπὶ τὴν  
ἑαυτῶν παρασκευὴν ἰόντας ἢ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐπὶ τὴν  
ἑαυτῶν;

Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δῖ', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
125 ἀγλευκέστερον, ὥς πολλοῖς ἂν δόξειε.

Τί γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα μηχανή- 22  
ματα καταενόηκας, ἃ παρατίθεται τοῖς τυράννοις,  
ὀξέα καὶ δριμέα καὶ στρυφνὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων  
ἀδελφά;

130 Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ πάνυ γέ μοι  
δοκοῦντα παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώποις.

Ἄλλο τι οὖν οἶε, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ταῦτα τὰ ἐδέσ- 23  
ματα εἶναι ἢ μαλακῆς καὶ ἀσθενούσης τρυφῇ  
ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμήματα; ἐπεὶ οἳ γε ἡδέως ἐσθιόντες  
135 καὶ σύ που οἴσθα ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται τούτων  
τῶν σοφισμάτων.

Ἄλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, τῶν γε πολυ- 24  
τελῶν ὁσμῶν τούτων, αἷς χρίεσθε, τοὺς πλησιάζ-  
οντας οἶμαι μᾶλλον ἀπολαύειν ἢ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς,  
140 ὥσπερ γε καὶ τῶν ἀχαρίτων ὁσμῶν οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ

βεβρωκῶς αἰσθάνεται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον οἱ πλησιάζοντες.

25 Οὗτω μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, καὶ τῶν σίτων ὁ μὲν ἔχων παντοδαπὰ αἰεὶ οὐδὲν μετὰ πόθου αὐτῶν λαμβάνει· ὁ δὲ σπανίσας τινός, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μετὰ 143 χαρᾶς πιμπλάμενος, ὅταν αὐτῷ προφανῇ τι.

11 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πάνυ ἔμουγε μικρὰ δοκεῖ εἶναι ἃ σὺ λέγεις. πολλοὺς γάρ, ἔφη, ἔγωγε ὀρώ τῶν δοκούντων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι ἐκόντας μειονεκτοῦντας καὶ σίτων καὶ 2 ποτῶν καὶ ὄψων ἀπεχομένους. ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείνοις 5 γε πολὺ διαφέρετε τῶν ιδιωτῶν, ὅτι μεγάλα μὲν ἐπινοεῖτε, ταχὺ δὲ κατεργάζεσθε, πλείστα δὲ τὰ περιττὰ ἔχετε, κέκτησθε δὲ διαφέροντας μὲν ἀρετῇ ἵππους, διαφέροντα δὲ κάλλει ὄπλα, ὑπερέχοντα δὲ κόσμον γυναιξί, μεγαλοπρεπεστάτας δ' οἰκίας καὶ 10 ταύτας κατεσκευασμένας τοῖς πλείστου ἀξίοις, ἔτι δὲ πλήθει καὶ ἐπιστήμαις θεράποντας ἀρίστους κέκτησθε, ἱκανώτατοι δ' ἐστὲ κακῶσαι μὲν ἐχθρούς, ὀνῆσαι δὲ φίλους.

3 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπεν· Ἄλλὰ τὸ μὲν 15 πλήθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ Σιμωνίδη, ἐξαπατᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος οὐδέν τι θαυμάζω· μάλα γὰρ ὁ ὄχλος μοι δοκεῖ δοξάζειν ὀρῶν καὶ εὐδαίμονάς 4 τινας εἶναι καὶ ἀθλίους· ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς τὰ μὲν 20 δοκούντα πολλοῦ ἀξία κτήματα εἶναι ἀνεπτυγμένα 20 θεᾶσθαι [φανερὰ] πᾶσι παρέχεται, τὰ δὲ χαλεπὰ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν τυράννων κέκτηται ἀποκε- 5 κρυμμένα, ἐνθαπερ καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ τὸ 25 κακοδαιμονεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπόκειται. τὸ μὲν

25 οὖν τὸ πλῆθος περὶ τούτου λεληθέναι, ὥσπερ εἶπον,  
 οὐ θαυμάζω· τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ταυτ' ἀγνοεῖν, οὐ διὰ  
 τῆς γνώμης δοκεῖτε θεᾶσθαι κάλλιον ἢ διὰ τῶν  
 ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν πραγμάτων, τοῦτό  
 μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι. ἐγὼ δὲ πεπειραμένος 6  
 30 σαφῶς οἶδα, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ λέγω σοι ὅτι οἱ  
 τύραννοι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἐλάχιστον μετέ-  
 χουσι, τῶν δὲ μεγίστων κακῶν πλεῖστα κέκτηνται.  
 αὐτίκα γὰρ εἰ ἡ μὲν εἰρήνη δοκεῖ μέγα ἀγαθὸν τοῖς 7  
 ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, ταύτης ἐλάχιστον τοῖς τυράννοις  
 35 μέτεστιν· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος μέγα κακόν, τούτου πλεῖ-  
 στον μέρος οἱ τύραννοι μετέχουσιν. εὐθὺς γὰρ 8  
 τοῖς μὲν ιδιώταις, ἂν μὴ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν κοινὸν  
 πόλεμον πολεμῇ, ἔξεστιν ὅποι ἂν βούλωνται  
 πορεύεσθαι μηδὲν φοβουμένους, μή τις αὐτοὺς  
 40 ἀποκτείνῃ, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι πάντες πανταχῇ ὡς διὰ  
 πολεμίας πορεύονται. αὐτοὶ τε γοῦν ὥπλισμένοι  
 οἶονται ἀνάγκην εἶναι διάγειν καὶ ἄλλους ὀπλο-  
 φόρους αἰεὶ συμπεριάγεσθαι. ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν 9  
 ιδιώται, ἐὰν καὶ στρατεύωνταί ποί εἰς πολεμίαν,  
 45 ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπειδὴν γε ἔλθωσιν οἴκαδε, ἀσφάλειαν  
 σφίσιν ἡγοῦνται εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι ἐπειδὴν εἰς  
 τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν ἀφίκωνται, τότε ἐν πλείστοις  
 πολεμίοις ἴσασιν ὄντες. ἐὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι 10  
 στρατεύωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρείττονες, ἐὰν ἔξω  
 50 τοῦ τείχους ὄντες οἱ ἥττονες ἐν κινδύνῳ δοκῶσιν  
 εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν γε εἴσω τοῦ ἐρύματος ἔλθωσιν,  
 ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ πάντες νομίζουσι καθεστάναι, ὁ δὲ  
 τύραννος οὐδ' ἐπειδὴν εἴσω τῆς οἰκίας παρέλθῃ  
 ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα δι' καὶ μάλιστα



- 11 φυλακτέον οἴεται εἶναι. ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις 55  
καὶ διὰ σπονδῶν καὶ δι' εἰρήνης γίγνεται πολέμου  
ἀνάπαυσις, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὔτε εἰρήνη ποτὲ  
πρὸς τοὺς τυραννεομένους γίγνεται οὔτε σπονδαῖς
- 12 ἂν ποτε πιστεύσας ὁ τύραννος θαρρήσειε. καὶ  
πόλεμοι μὲν δὴ εἰσιν οὓς τε αἱ πόλεις πολεμοῦσι 60  
καὶ οὓς οἱ τύραννοι πρὸς τοὺς βεβιασμένους·  
τούτων δὴ τῶν πολέμων ὅσα μὲν ἔχει χαλεπὰ ὁ
- 13 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, ταῦτα καὶ ὁ τύραννος ἔχει· καὶ  
γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις δεῖ εἶναι ἀμφοτέρους καὶ φυλάττε-  
σθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν, καὶ ὅν τι πάθωσι κακὸν 65
- 14 ἡττηθέντες, λυποῦνται ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκάτεροι. μέχρι  
μὲν δὴ τούτου ἴσοι οἱ πόλεμοι· ἃ δὲ ἔχουσιν ἡδέα  
οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, ταῦτα οὐκέτι
- 15 ἔχουσιν οἱ τύραννοι. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πόλεις δήπου  
ὕταν κρατήσωσι μάχῃ τῶν ἐναντίων, οὐ ῥᾶδιον 70  
εἰπεῖν, ὅσῃ μὲν ἡδονὴν ἔχουσιν ἐν τῷ τρέψασθαι  
[τοὺς πολεμίους], ὅσῃ δ' ἐν τῷ διώκειν, ὅσῃ δ' ἐν  
τῷ ἀποκτείνειν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὥς δὲ γαυροῦνται  
ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ὥς δὲ δόξαν λαμπρὰν ἀναλαμβάν-  
ουσιν, ὥς δ' εὐφραίνονται τὴν πόλιν νομίζοντες 75
- 16 ἡῤῥηκέαι. ἕκαστος δὲ τις προσποιεῖται καὶ τῆς  
βουλῆς μετεσχηκέναι καὶ πλείστους ἀπεκτονέναι,  
χαλεπὸν δὲ εὐρεῖν. ὅπου οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπιψεύδονται  
<τι>, πλέονας φάσκοντες ἀπεκτονέναι ἢ ὅσοι ἂν  
τῷ ὄντι ἀποθάνωσιν· οὕτω καλὸν τι αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ 80
- 17 εἶναι τὸ πολὺ νικᾶν. ὁ δὲ τύραννος ὅταν ὑπο-  
πτεύσῃ καὶ αἰσθανόμενος τῷ ὄντι ἀντιπράττοντάς  
τινας ἀποκτείνῃ, οἶδεν ὅτι οὐκ αὖξει ὅλην τὴν πό-  
λιν, ἐπίσταται τε, ὅτι μειόνων ἄρξει, φαιδρός τε οὐ

85 δύναται εἶναι, οὐδὲ μεγαλύνεται ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ μειοῖ καθ' ὅσον ἂν δύνηται τὸ γεγενημένον,  
καὶ ἀπολογεῖται ἅμα πράττων ὡς οὐκ ἀδικῶν  
πεποιήκεν. οὕτως οὐδ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καλὰ τὰ  
ποιούμενα εἶναι. καὶ ὅταν ἀποθάνωσιν οὓς ἐφο- 18  
90 βήθη, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον τούτου < ἔνεκα > θαρρεῖ,  
ἀλλὰ φυλάττεται ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν. καὶ  
πόλεμον μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἔχων διατελεῖ ὁ τύραννος,  
οἷον ἐγὼ δηλῶ.

Φιλίας δ' αὖ καταθέσσαι ὡς κοινωνοῦσιν οἱ III  
τύραινοι. πρῶτον μὲν εἰ μέγα ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώποις  
ἡ φιλία, τοῦτο ἐπισκεψώμεθα. ὃς γὰρ ἂν φιλῆται 2  
δήπου ὑπὸ τινων, ἡδέως μὲν τοῦτον οἱ φιλοῦντες  
5 παρόντα ὀρεῖσιν, ἡδέως δ' εὖ ποιοῦσι, ποθοῦσι δὲ  
ἂν που ἀπῇ, ἥδιστα δὲ πάλιν προσιόντα δέχονται,  
συνήδονται δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθοῖς, συνεπικου-  
ροῦσι δὲ ἂν τι σφαλλόμενον ὀρώσιν. οὐ μὲν 3  
δὴ λέληθεν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι ἡ φιλία μέγιστον  
10 ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἥδιστον ἀνθρώποις ἐστί· μόνους γοῦν  
τοὺς μοιχοὺς νομίζουσι πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων  
ινηποινὶ ἀποκτείνειν, δηλὸν ὅτι διὰ ταῦτα ἔτι  
λυμαντῆρας αὐτοὺς νομίζουσι τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν  
φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι. ἐπεὶ ὅταν γε 4  
15 ἀφροδισιασθῇ κατὰ συμφορὰν τινα γυνή, οὐδὲν  
ἦττον τούτου ἔνεκεν τιμῶσιν αὐτὰς οἱ ἄνδρες,  
ἐάνπερ ἡ φιλία δοκῇ αὐταῖς ἀκήρατος διαμένειν.  
τοσοῦτον δέ τι ἀγαθὸν κρίνω ἔγωγε τὸ φιλεῖσθαι 5  
εἶναι, ὥστε νομίζω τῷ ὄντι αὐτόματα τὰγαθὰ τῷ  
20 φιλουμένῳ γίγνεσθαι καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρὰ  
ἀνθρώπων. καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ κτήματος 6

τοιούτου ὄντος μειονεκτοῦσιν οἱ τύραννοι πάντων  
 μάλιστα. εἰ δὲ βοῦλει, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, εἰδέναι ὅτι  
 7 ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὥδε ἐπίσκειναι. βεβαιόταται μὲν  
 γὰρ δήπου δοκοῦσι φιλίαι εἶναι γονεῦσι πρὸς 25  
 παῖδας καὶ παισὶ πρὸς γονεῖς καὶ ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς  
 ἀδελφούς καὶ γυναιξὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας καὶ ἑταίροις πρὸς  
 8 ἑταίρους. εἰ τοίνυν ἐθέλεις κατανοεῖν, εὐρήσεις  
 μὲν τοὺς ἰδιώτας ὑπὸ τούτων πάντων μάλιστα  
 φιλουμένους, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους πολλοὺς μὲν παῖ- 30  
 δας ἑαυτῶν ἀπεκτονότας, πολλοὺς δ' ὑπὸ παιδων  
 αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀδελφούς ἐν  
 τυραννίσιν ἀλληλοφόνους γεγενημένους, πολλοὺς  
 δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τῶν ἑαυτῶν τυράννους  
 διεφθαρμένους καὶ ὑπὸ ἑταίρων γε τῶν μάλιστα 35  
 9 δοκούντων φίλων εἶναι. οἷτινες οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν  
 φύσει πεφυκότων μάλιστα φιλεῖν καὶ νόμφ συνη-  
 ναγκασμένων οὕτω μισοῦνται, πῶς ὑπ' ἄλλου γέ  
 IV τινος οἷεσθαι χρή αὐτοὺς φιλεῖσθαι; Ἀλλὰ  
 μὴν καὶ πίστεως ὅστις ἐλάχιστον μετέχει, πῶς  
 οὐχὶ μεγάλου ἀγαθοῦ μειονεκτεῖ; ποῖα μὲν  
 γὰρ ξυνουσία ἡδεῖα ἄνευ πίστεως τῆς πρὸς  
 ἀλλήλους, ποῖα δ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ τερπνὴ 5  
 ἄνευ πίστεως ὁμιλία, ποῖος δὲ θεράπων ἡδύς  
 2 ἀπιστούμενος; καὶ τούτου τοίνυν [τοῦ πιστῶς  
 πρὸς τινος ἔχειν] ἐλάχιστον μέτεστι τυράννῳ·  
 ὁπότε γε οὐδὲ σίτοις καὶ ποτοῖς πιστεύων διάγει,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων, πρὶν ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, τοὺς 10  
 διακόνους πρῶτον κελεύουσιν ἀπογενέσασθαι διὰ  
 τὸ ἀπιστεῖν, μὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κακὸν τι φάγωσιν  
 3 ἢ πίωσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αἱ πατρίδες τοῖς μὲν

ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις πλείστου ἄξιαί· πολῖται γὰρ  
 15 δορυφοροῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους ἀνευ μισθοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 δούλους, δορυφοροῦσι δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς κακούργους  
 ἱπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ  
 ἀποθνήσκειν. οὕτω δὲ πόρρῳ προεληλύθασι 4  
 φυλακῆς, ὥστε πεποίηνται πολλοὶ νόμον τῷ  
 20 μισαιφόνῳ μηδὲ τὸν συνόντα καθαρεύειν· ὥστε διὰ  
 τὰς πατρίδας ἀσφαλῶς ἕκαστος βιοτεύει τῶν  
 πολιτῶν. τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις καὶ τοῦτο ἔμπαλιν 5  
 ἀνέστραπται. ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν [αὐτοῖς] αἱ  
 πόλεις μεγάλως τιμῶσι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν  
 25 τύραννον, καὶ ἀντὶ γε τοῦ εἶργειν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν,  
 ὥσπερ τοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν φονέας, ἀντὶ τούτου  
 καὶ εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἰστᾶσιν αἱ πόλεις  
 τῶν τοιοῦτό τι ποιησάντων. Ὁ δὲ σὺ οἶει 6  
 ὡς πλείῳ ἔχων τῶν ἰδιωτῶν κτήματα ὁ τύραν-  
 30 νος διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πλείῳ ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐφραίνεται,  
 οὐδὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὃ Σιμωνίδῃ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ  
 οἱ ἀθληταὶ οὐχ ὅταν ἰδιωτῶν γένωνται κρείτ-  
 τονες, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς εὐφραίνει, ἀλλ' ὅταν τῶν  
 ἀνταγωνιστῶν ἥττους, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἀνιᾷ, οὕτω  
 35 καὶ ὁ τύραννος οὐχ, ὅταν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πλείῳ  
 φαίνεται ἔχων, τότε εὐφραίνεται, ἀλλ', ὅταν  
 ἐτέρων τυράννων ἐλάττω ἔχῃ, τούτῳ λυπεῖται·  
 τούτους γὰρ ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἡγεῖται αὐτῷ τοῦ  
 πλούτου εἶναι. οὐδέ γε θάττον τι γίγνεται 7  
 40 τῷ τυράννῳ ἢ τῷ ἰδιώτῃ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ. ὁ μὲν  
 γὰρ ἰδιώτης οἰκίας ἢ ἀγροῦ ἢ οἰκέτου ἐπιθυμεῖ,  
 ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἢ πόλεων ἢ χώρας πολλῆς ἢ  
 λιμένων ἢ ἀκροπόλεων ἰσχυρῶν, ἃ ἔστι πολὺ

- χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερα κατεργάσασθαι  
 8 τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ἐπιθυμημάτων. ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ 45  
 πένητας ὄψει οὐχ οὕτως ὀλίγους τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὡς  
 πολλοὺς τῶν τυράννων. οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀριθμῷ οὔτε  
 τὰ πολλὰ κρίνεται οὔτε τὰ ἱκανά, ἀλλὰ πρὸς  
 τὰς χρήσεις· ὥστε τὰ μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα τὰ  
 ἱκανὰ πολλὰ ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἱκανῶν ἐλλείποντα 50  
 9 ὀλίγα. τῷ οὖν τυράννῳ τὰ πολλαπλάσια ἦττον  
 ἱκανὰ ἐστὶν εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανήματα ἢ τῷ  
 ἰδιώτῃ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώταις ἔξεστι τὰς δαπά-  
 νας συντέμνειν εἰς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ὅπῃ βούλονται,  
 τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὐκ ἐνδέχεται. αἱ γὰρ μέγιστα 55  
 αὐτοῖς δαπάναι καὶ ἀναγκαιόταται εἰς τὰς τῆς ψυ-  
 χῆς φυλακάς εἰσι· τὸ δὲ τούτων <τι> συντέμνειν  
 10 ὀλεθρὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι. ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσοι μὲν δύνανται  
 ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου ὅσων δέονται, τί ἂν τούτους  
 οἰκτεῖροι τις ὡς πένητας; ὅσοι δ' ἀναγκάζονται 60  
 δι' ἔνδειαν κακόν τι καὶ αἰσχροὺς μηχανώμενοι  
 ζῆν, πῶς οὐ τούτους ἀθλίους ἂν τις καὶ πένητας  
 11 δικαίως νομίζοι; οἱ τύραννοι τοίνυν ἀναγκάζονται  
 πλείστα συλᾶν ἀδίκως καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους  
 διὰ τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαῖας δαπάνας αἰεὶ προσ- 65  
 δεῖσθαι χρημάτων. ὥσπερ γὰρ πολέμου ὄντος  
 αἰεὶ ἀναγκάζονται στράτευμα τρέφειν ἢ ἀπολω-  
 λέναι.
- V Χαλεπὸν δ' ἐρῶ σοι καὶ ἄλλο πάθημα, ὃ Σιμω-  
 νίδῃ, τῶν τυράννων. γινώσκουσι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν  
 ἦττον τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς κοσμίους τε καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ  
 δικαίους, τούτους δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄγασθαι φοβοῦν-  
 ται, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρείους μή τι τολμήσωσι τῆς 5

ἐλευθερίας ἔνεκα, τοὺς δὲ σοφοὺς μὴ τι μηχανήσωνται, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους μὴ ἐπιθυμήσῃ τὸ πλήθος ὑπ' αὐτῶν προστατεῖσθαι. ὅταν δὲ 2 τοὺς τοιούτους διὰ τὸν φόβον ὑπεξαίρωνται, τίνες 10 ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς καταλείπονται χρῆσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ οἱ ἄδικοί τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ ἀνδραποδώδεις; οἱ μὲν ἄδικοι πιστευόμενοι, διότι φοβοῦνται ὥσπερ οἱ τύραννοι τὰς πόλεις μήποτε ἐλεύθεραι γενόμεναι ἐγκρατεῖς αὐτῶν γένωνται, οἱ δ' ἀκρατεῖς τῆς εἰς 15 τὸ παρὸν ἐξουσίας ἔνεκα, οἱ δ' ἀνδραποδώδεις διότι οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἀξιούσιν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι. χαλεπὸν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθημα ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ ἄλλους μὲν ἡγείσθαι ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας, ἄλλοις δὲ χρῆσθαι ἀναγκάζεσθαι. ἔτι δὲ φιλόπολιν μὲν 3 20 ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν τύραννον εἶναι· ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως οὐτ' ἂν σώζεσθαι δύναιτο οὐτ' ἂν εὐδαιμονεῖν· ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς ἀναγκάζει καὶ ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πατρίσιν ἐγκαλεῖν. οὐτε γὰρ ἀλκίμους οὐτ' εὐόπλους χαίρουσι τοὺς πολίτας παρασκευάζοντες, 25 ἀλλὰ τοὺς ξένους δεινότερους τῶν πολιτῶν ποιούντες ἥδονται μᾶλλον καὶ τούτοις χρώνται δορυφόροις. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν εὐετηριῶν γενομένων 4 ἀφθονία τῶν ἀγαθῶν γίγνηται, οὐδὲ τότε συγχαίρει ὁ τύραννος. ἐνδεεστέροις γὰρ οὐσι ταπεινότεροις 30 αὐτοῖς οἴονται χρῆσθαι.

Βούλομαι δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, κακεῖνας VI τὰς εὐφροσύνας δηλῶσαι, ὅσαις ἐγὼ χρώμενος, ὅτ' ἦν ιδιώτης, νῦν ἐπειδὴ τύραννος ἐγενόμην, αἰσθάνομαι στερόμενος αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ γὰρ συνῆν 2 5 μὲν ἡλικιώταις ἡδόμενος ἡδομένοις ἐμοί, συνῆν δὲ



ἔμαντῶ, ὅποτε ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσαιμι, διῆγον δ' ἐν  
 συμποσίοις πολλάκις μὲν μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι  
 πάντων εἴ τι χαλεπὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ ἦν,  
 πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι τοῦ ᾧδαῖς τε καὶ θαλίαις καὶ  
 χοροῖς τὴν ψυχὴν συγκαταμιγνύναι, πολλάκις δὲ <sup>10</sup>  
 μέχρι κοινῆς εὐθυμίας ἐμῆς τε καὶ τῶν παρόντων.  
 3 νῦν δὲ ἀπεστέρημαι μὲν τῶν ἡδομένων ἐμοὶ διὰ  
 τὸ δούλους ἀντὶ φίλων ἔχειν τοὺς ἐταίρους,  
 ἀπεστέρημαι δ' αὐτὸς τοῦ ἡδέως ἐκείνοις ὁμιλεῖν  
 διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐνορᾶν εὐνοίαν ἐμοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν <sup>15</sup>  
 μέθην δὲ καὶ ὕπνον ὁμοίως ἐνέδρα φυλάττομαι.  
 4 τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μὲν ὄχλον, φοβεῖσθαι δ' ἐρημίαν,  
 φοβεῖσθαι δὲ ἀφυλαξίαν, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς  
 τοὺς φυλάττοντας καὶ μήτ' ἀόπλους ἔχειν ἐθέ-  
 λειν περὶ αὐτὸν μήθ' ὥπλισμένους ἡδέως θεᾶσθαι <sup>20</sup>  
 5 πῶς οὐκ ἀργαλέον ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα; ἔτι δὲ ξένοις  
 μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ πολίταις πιστεύειν, βαρβάροις δὲ  
 μᾶλλον ἢ Ἑλλησιν, ἐπιθυμεῖν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρ-  
 οὺς δούλους ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ δούλους ἀναγκάζεσθαι  
 ποιεῖν ἐλευθέρους, οὐ πάντα σοι ταῦτα δοκεῖ <sup>25</sup>  
 ψυχῆς ὑπὸ φόβων καταπεπληγμένης τεκμήρια  
 6 εἶναι; ὃ γέ τοι φόβος οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐνὼν ταῖς  
 ψυχαῖς λυπηρὸς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν  
 7 ἡδέων συμπαρομαρτῶν λυμαντὴρ γίγνεται. εἰ δὲ  
 καὶ σὺ πολεμικῶν ἔμπειρος εἶ, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ <sup>30</sup>  
 ἤδη ποτὲ πολεμία φάλαγγι πλησίον ἀντετάξω,  
 ἀναμνήσθητι ποῖον μὲν τινα σῆτον ἡροῦ ἐν ἐκείνῳ  
 8 τῷ χρόνῳ, ποῖον δὲ τινα ὕπνον ἐκοιμῶ. οἷα μέντοι  
 σοὶ τότε ἦν τὰ λυπηρά, τοιαῦτ' <αἰ> ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν  
 τυράννων καὶ ἔτι δεινότερα· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἐναντίας <sup>35</sup>

μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντοθεν πολεμίους ὄραν νομίζουσιν οἱ τύραννοι.

Ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· 9  
 Ὑπέρει μοι δοκεῖς ἓνια λέγειν. ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος  
 40 φοβερὸν μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὦ Ἱέρων, ἡμεῖς γε ὅταν  
 ὦμεν ἐν στρατείᾳ, φύλακας προκαθιστάμενοι  
 θαρραλέως δείπνου τε καὶ ὕπνου λαγχάνομεν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων ἔφη· Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὦ Σιμωνίδη· 10  
 αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ προφυλάττουσιν οἱ νόμοι, ὥστε περὶ  
 45 ἑαυτῶν φοβοῦνται καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· οἱ δὲ τύραννοι  
 μισθοῦ φύλακας ἔχουσιν ὥσπερ θεριστάς. καὶ δεῖ 11  
 μὲν δήπου τοὺς φύλακας μηδὲν οὕτω ποιεῖν δύνασ-  
 θαι ὥς πιστοὺς εἶναι· πιστὸν δὲ ἓνα πολὺ χαλεπώ-  
 50 τερον εὑρεῖν ἢ πᾶν πολλοὺς ἐργάτας ὁποίου βούλει  
 ἔργου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁπόταν χρημάτων μὲν ἔνεκα  
 παρῶσιν οἱ φυλάττοντες, ἐξῇ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀλίγῳ  
 χρόνῳ πολὺ πλείω λαβεῖν ἀποκτεῖνασι τὸν τύραν-  
 55 νον ἢ ὅσα πολὺν χρόνον φυλάττοντες παρὰ τοῦ  
 τυράννου λαμβάνουσιν. ὁ δ' ἐξήλωσας ἡμᾶς, ὥς 12  
 τοὺς μὲν φίλους μάλιστα εὖ ποιεῖν δυνάμεθα, τοὺς  
 δ' ἐχθροὺς πάντων μάλιστα χειρούμεθα, οὐδὲ ταῦθ'  
 οὕτως ἔχει. φίλους μὲν γὰρ πῶς ἂν νομίσεις 13  
 ποτὲ εὖ ποιεῖν, ὅταν εὖ εἰδῇς ὅτι ὁ τὰ πλείεστα  
 λαμβάνων παρὰ σοῦ ἥδιστ' ἂν ὥς τάχιστα ἐξ  
 60 ὀφθαλμῶν σου γένοιτο; ὃ τι γὰρ ἂν τις λάβῃ  
 παρὰ τυράννου, οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ νομίζει πρὶν  
 ἂν ἔξω τῆς τούτου ἐπικρατείας γένηται. ἐχθροὺς 14  
 δ' αὖ πῶς ἂν φαίης μάλιστα τοῖς τυράννοις ἐξεῖναι  
 χειροῦσθαι, ὅταν εὖ εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν εἰσι  
 65 πάντες οἱ τυραννοῦμενοι, τούτους δὲ μήτε κατα-



καίνειν ἅπαντας μήτε δεσμεύειν οἷόν τε ἦ· τίνων γὰρ ἔτι ἄρξει; ἀλλ' εἰδότα, ὅτι ἐχθροὶ εἰσι, τούτους ἅμα μὲν φυλάττεσθαι δέη καὶ χρήσθαι δ' 15 αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάζεσθαι; εὖ δ' ἴσθι καὶ τοῦτο, ὃ Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι καί, οὓς τῶν πολιτῶν δεδίασι, χαλεπῶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ζῶντας ὀρώσι, χαλεπῶς δ' ἀποκτείνουσιν· ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἵππος εἰ ἀγαθὸς μὲν εἴη, φοβερὸς δὲ μὴ ἀνέκестόν τι ποιήσῃ, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἂν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειν διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, χαλεπῶς δὲ ζῶντι χρῶτο, εὐλαβούμενος μή τι 15 ἀνέκестον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐργάσῃται. καὶ τᾶλλα γε κτήματα, ὅσα χαλεπὰ μὲν χρήσιμα δ' ἐστίν, ὁμοίως ἅπαντα λυπεῖ μὲν τοὺς κεκτημένους, λυπεῖ δὲ ἀπαλλαττομένους.

VII Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, εἶπε· Ἔοικεν, ἔφη, ὦ Ἰέρων, μέγα τι εἶναι ἡ τιμὴ, ἣς ὀρεγόμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντα μὲν πόνον ὑποδύονται, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομένουσι. καὶ ὑμεῖς, 2 ὡς ἔοικε, τοσαῦτα πράγματα ἐχούσης ὁπόσα 5 λέγεις τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅμως προπετῶς φέρεσθε εἰς αὐτήν, ὅπως τιμᾶσθε καὶ ὑπηρετῶσι μὲν ὑμῖν πάντες πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα ἀπροφασίστως, περιβλέπωσι δὲ πάντες, ὑπανιστῶνται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν θάκων, ὁδῶν τε παραχωρῶσι, γεραίρωσι δὲ καὶ 10 λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντες οἱ παρόντες αἰὲ ὑμᾶς· τοιαῦτα γὰρ δὴ ποιοῦσι τοῖς τυράννοις οἱ ἀρχόμενοι καὶ ἄλλον ὄντινα αἰὲ τιμῶντες τυγχάνουσι. 3 καὶ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ, ὦ Ἰέρων, τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἀνὴρ τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων, τῷ τιμῆς ὀρέγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ σίτοις 15 γε καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ὕπνοις καὶ <τοῖς τοιούτοις>

πάντα ὁμοίως ἡδεσθαι ἔοικε τὰ ζῶα· ἡ δὲ φιλο-  
 τιμία οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ἐμφύεται οὐτ' ἐν  
 ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις· οἷς δ' ἂν ἐμφύη τιμῆς τε καὶ  
 20 ἐπαίνου ἔρως, οὗτοί εἰσιν ἥδη οἱ πλείστον μὲν τῶν  
 βοσκημάτων διαφέροντες, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ οὐκέτι  
 ἄνθρωποι μόνον νομιζόμενοι. ὥστε ἐμοὶ μὲν 4  
 εἰκότως δοκεῖτε ταῦτα πάντα ὑπομένειν ἃ φέρετε  
 ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἐπεὶ περ τιμᾶσθε διαφερόντως τῶν  
 25 ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων· καὶ γὰρ οὐδεμία ἀνθρωπίνη  
 ἡδονὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγγυτέρω δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἡ περὶ τὰς  
 τιμὰς εὐφροσύνη.

Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ εἶπεν ὁ Ἱέρων· Ἄλλ', ὦ 5  
 Σιμωνίδη, αἱ ὑπουργίαι αἱ ὑπὸ φοβουμένων οὐ  
 30 τιμαὶ εἰσιν. πῶς γὰρ ἂν φαίμεν ἢ τοὺς βία 7  
 ἐξανισταμένους θάκων διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδικοῦν-  
 τας ἐξανίστασθαι ἢ τοὺς ὁδῶν παραχωροῦντας  
 τοῖς κρείττοσι διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας παρα-  
 χωρεῖν; καὶ δῶρά γε διδόασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τούτοις 8  
 35 οὓς μισοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα ὅταν μάλιστα φοβῶνται  
 μὴ τι κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πάθωσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα  
 μὲν οἶμαι δουλείας ἔργα εἰκότως ἂν νομίζοιτο·  
 αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων  
 τούτοις γίγνεσθαι. ὅταν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ἄνδρα 9  
 40 ἡγήσάμενοι εὐεργετεῖν ἱκανὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀπολαύειν  
 αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ νομίσαντες, ἔπειτα τοῦτον ἀνὰ στόμα  
 τε ἔχωσιν ἐπαινοῦντες, θεῶνταί τ' αὐτὸν ὥς  
 οἰκεῖον ἕκαστος ἀγαθόν, ἐκόντες τε παραχωρῶσι  
 τούτῳ ὁδῶν καὶ θάκων ὑπανιστῶνται φιλοῦντές τε  
 45 καὶ μὴ φοβούμενοι, καὶ στεφανῶσι κοινῇ ἀρετῆς  
 καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκα καὶ δωρεῖσθαι ἐθέλωσιν οἱ

αὐτοί, οὗτοι ἔμουγε δοκοῦσι τιμᾶν τε τοῦτον ἀληθῶς  
οἳ ἂν τοιαῦτα ὑπουργήσωσι, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀξιού-  
10 μενος τιμᾶσθαι τῷ ὄντι. καὶ ἔγωγε τὸν μὲν οὕτω  
τιμώμενον μακαρίζω· αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ 50  
ἐπιβουλευόμενον ἀλλὰ φροντιζόμενον μὴ τι πάθῃ  
καὶ ἀφόβως καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως καὶ  
εὐδαιμόνως τὸν βίον διάγοντα· ὁ δὲ τύραννος, ὡς  
ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατακεκριμένος δι' ἀδικίαν  
ἀποθνήσκειν, οὕτως, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, εὖ ἴσθι, καὶ 55  
νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν διάγει.

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα διήκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης,  
Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, ὦ Ἱέρων, εἰ οὕτω πονηρόν ἐστι τὸ  
τυραννεῖν καὶ τοῦτο σὺ ἔγνωκας, οὐκ ἀπαλλάττει  
οὕτω μεγάλου κακοῦ οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἄλλος μὲν δὴ 60  
οὐδείς πώποτε ἐκὼν εἶναι τυραννίδος ἀφεῖτο, ὥσπερ  
ἄπαξ ἐκτήσατο;

12 Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ ταύτῃ ἀθλιωτάτον  
ἐστὶν ἢ τυραννίς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπαλλαγῆναι δυνατὸν  
αὐτῆς ἐστι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τίς ποτε ἐξαρκέσειε 65  
τύραννος ἢ χρήματα ἐκτίνων ὅσους ἀφείλετο, ἢ  
δεσμοὺς ἀντιπαράσχοι ὅσους δὴ ἐδέσμευσεν, ἢ  
ὅσους κατέκανε πῶς ἂν ἱκανὰς ψυχὰς ἀντιπαρά-  
13 σχοίτο ἀποθανουμένας; ἀλλ' εἵπερ τῇ ἄλλῃ, ὦ  
Σιμωνίδη, λυσιτελεῖ ἀπάγξασθαι, ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι 70  
τυράννῳ ἔγωγε εὐρίσκω μάλιστα τοῦτο λυσιτελοῦν  
ποιῆσαι. μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ οὔτε ἔχειν οὔτε κατα-  
θέσθαι τὰ κακὰ λυσιτελεῖ.

VIII Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν Ἄλλὰ τὸ  
μὲν νῦν, ὦ Ἱέρων, ἀθύμως ἔχειν σε πρὸς τὴν  
τυραννίδα οὐ θαυμάζω, ἐπεὶ περ ἐπιθυμῶν φιλεῖ-

σθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐμποδῶν σοι τούτου νομίζεις  
 5 αὐτὴν εἶναι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ διδάξαι  
 σε ὡς τὸ ἄρχειν οὐδὲν ἀποκαλύει τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖ γε τῆς ιδιωτείας· ἐπισκο- 2  
 ποῦντες δὲ αὐτὸ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, μήπω ἐκείνο  
 σκοπῶμεν, εἰ διὰ τὸ μείζον δύνασθαι ὁ ἄρχων  
 10 καὶ χαρίζεσθαι πλείω δύναιτ' ἄν, ἀλλ' ἂν τὰ  
 ὅμοια ποιῶσιν ὅ τε ιδιώτης καὶ ὁ τύραννος, ἐννόει  
 πότερος μείζω ἀπὸ τῶν ἴσων κτᾶται χάριν.  
 ἄρξομαι δέ σοι ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτάτων παραδειγμά-  
 των. ἰδὼν γὰρ πρῶτον προσειπάτω τινὰ φιλικῶς 3  
 15 ὁ τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ ιδιώτης· ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ποτέρου  
 πρόσρησιν μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν τὸν ἀκούσαντα  
 νομίζεις; ἴθι δὴ ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφοτέροι τὸν  
 αὐτόν, τὸν ποτέρου δοκεῖς ἔπαινον ἐξικνεῖσθαι  
 μᾶλλον εἰς εὐφροσύνην; θύσας δὲ τιμησάτω  
 20 ἑκάτερος· τὴν παρὰ ποτέρου τιμὴν μείζονος ἂν  
 χάριτος δοκεῖς τυγχάνειν; κάμνοντα θεραπευ- 4  
 σάντων ὁμοίως· οὐκοῦν τοῦτο σαφές ὅτι αἱ ὑπὸ  
 τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπείαι καὶ χαρὰν ἐμποιοῦσι  
 μεγίστην; δόντων δὲ τὰ ἴσα· οὐ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ  
 25 σαφές ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἡμίσειαι  
 χάριτες πλέον ἢ ὅλον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ ιδιώτου δῶρημα  
 δύνανται; ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ ἐκ θεῶν τιμὴ τις 5  
 καὶ χάρις συμπαρέπεσθαι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι. μὴ  
 γὰρ ὅτι καλλίονα ποιεῖ ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν  
 30 αὐτόν τοῦτον <ἥδιον> θεώμεθ' αὖτε ὅταν ἄρχῃ ἢ ὅταν  
 ιδιωτεύῃ, διαλεγόμενοί τε ἀγαλλόμεθα τοῖς προτε-  
 τιμημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἡμῖν οὔσι.  
 ὁπότε γε μὴν ἐκ τῶν ἴσων ὑπουργημάτων μειζόνων 7

- χαρίτων ὑμεῖς τυγχάνετε, πῶς οὐκ, ἐπειδὴν γε ὑμεῖς πολλαπλάσια μὲν διαπράττοντες ὠφελεῖν 35 δύννησθε, πολλαπλάσια δὲ δωρεῖσθαι ἔχητε, ὑμᾶς καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον φιλεῖσθαι τῶν ιδιωτῶν προσήκει;
- 8 Καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εὐθύς ὑπολαβὼν, "Ὅτι νῆ Δί, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἀπεχθάνονται ἄνθρωποι, ἡμᾶς πολὺ πλείω τῶν ιδιωτῶν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ πραγ- 40 ματεύεσθαι. πρακτέον μὲν γε χρήματα, εἰ μέλλομεν ἔξειν δαπανᾶν εἰς τὰ δέοντα, ἀναγκαστέον δὲ φυλάττειν ὅσα δεῖται φυλακῆς, κολαστέον δὲ τοὺς ἀδίκους, κωλυτέον δὲ τοὺς ὑβρίζειν βουλο- 45 μένους· καὶ ὅταν γε τάχους καιρὸς παραστῇ ἢ πεζῇ ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐξορμᾶσθαι, οὐκ ἐπιτρε- 10 πτέον τοῖς ῥαδιουργοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ μισθοφόρων μὲν ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ δεῖ· τούτου δὲ βαρύτερον φόρημα οὐδέν ἐστι τοῖς πολίταις. οὐ γὰρ τυράννοις ἰσοτιμίας ἀλλὰ πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα νομίζουσι τού- 50 τους τρέφεσθαι.
- 1X Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· 'Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὲν οὐ πάντων τούτων ἐπιμελητέον, ὦ Ἱέρων, οὐ λέγω. ἐπιμέλειαί μέντοι μοι δοκοῦσιν αἱ μὲν πάνυ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἄγειν, αἱ δὲ πάνυ διὰ 2 χαρίτων εἶναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ διδάσκειν ἃ ἐστὶ βέλτιστα καὶ τὸν κάλλιστα ταῦτα ἐξεργαζόμενον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἐπιμέλεια διὰ χαρίτων γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ τὸν ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦντα λαιδορεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγκάζειν καὶ ζημιοῦν καὶ κολάζειν, ταῦτα δὲ ἀνάγκη δι' ἀπεχθείας μᾶλλον 10 3 γίγνεσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι τὸ μὲν ἀνάγκης δεόμενον ἄλλοις προστακτέον εἶναι

κολάζειν, τὸ δὲ τὰ ἄθλα ἀποδιδόναι δι' αὐτοῦ  
 ποιητέον. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει μαρτυρεῖ τὰ  
 15 γινγνόμενα. καὶ γὰρ ὅταν χοροὺς ἡμῖν βουλόμεθα 4  
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἄθλα μὲν ὁ ἄρχων προτίθῃσιν,  
 ἀθροίζειν δὲ αὐτοὺς προστέτακται χορηγοῖς καὶ  
 ἄλλοις διδάσκειν καὶ ἀνάγκην προστιθέναι τοῖς  
 ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν εὐθύς ἐν τούτοις τὸ μὲν  
 20 ἐπίχαρι διὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐγένετο, τὰ δ' ἀντίτυπα  
 δι' ἄλλων. τί οὖν κωλύει καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πολιτικά 5  
 οὕτω περαίνεσθαι; διήρηνται μὲν γὰρ ἅπασαι αἱ  
 πόλεις αἱ μὲν κατὰ φυλάς, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μόρας, αἱ  
 δὲ κατὰ λόχους, καὶ ἄρχοντες ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ μέρει  
 25 ἐφεστήκασιν. οὐκοῦν εἴ τις καὶ τούτοις ὥσπερ 6  
 τοῖς χοροῖς ἄθλα προτιθείη καὶ εὐοπλίας καὶ  
 εὐταξίας καὶ ἵππικῆς καὶ ἀλκῆς τῆς ἐν πολέμῳ  
 καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις, εἰκὸς καὶ  
 ταῦτα πάντα διὰ φιλονικίαν ἐντόνως ἀσκεῖσθαι.  
 30 καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ὁρμῶντό γ' ἂν θᾶπτον ὅποι δέοι 7  
 τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ χρήματα θᾶπτον εἰσφέ-  
 ροιεν, ὅποτε τούτου καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὸ πάντων γε  
 χρησιμώτατον ἥκιστα δὲ εἰθισμένον διὰ φιλονι-  
 κίας πράττεσθαι, ἢ γεωργία αὐτῇ ἂν πολὺ ἐπιδοίη,  
 35 εἴ τις ἄθλα προτιθείη κατ' ἀγρὸν ἢ κατὰ κώμας  
 τοῖς κάλλιστα τὴν γῆν ἐξεργαζομένοις, καὶ τοῖς  
 εἰς τοῦτο τῶν πολιτῶν ἐρρωμένως τρεπομένοις  
 πολλὰ ἂν ἀγαθὰ περαίνουτο. καὶ γὰρ αἱ πρόσοδοι 8  
 αὖξιντ' ἂν καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη πολὺ μᾶλλον ἂν  
 40 τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ συμπαρομαρτοίη. καὶ μὴν κακουργίαι  
 γε ἦπτον τοῖς ἐνεργοῖς ἐμφύονται. εἰ δὲ καὶ 9  
 ἐμπορία ὠφελεῖ τι πόλιν, τιμωμενος ἂν ὁ πλείστα



- τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ ἐμπόρους ἂν πλείους ἀγέιροι.  
 εἰ δὲ φανερόν γένοιτο ὅτι καὶ ὁ πρόσδοδόν τινα  
 ἄλνυον ἐξευρίσκων τῇ πόλει τιμῆσεται, οὐδ' αὐτῇ 45  
 10 ἂν ἡ σκέψις ἀργοῦτο. ὥς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, εἰ  
 καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἐμφανὲς εἴη, ὅτι ὁ ἀγαθὸν τι  
 εἰσηγούμενος οὐκ ἀτίμητος ἔσται, πολλοὺς ἂν καὶ  
 τοῦτο ἐξορμήσειεν ἔργον ποιεῖσθαι τὸ σκοπεῖν τι  
 ἀγαθόν. καὶ ὅταν γε πολλοῖς περὶ τῶν ὠφελίμων 50  
 μέλῃ, ἀνάγκη εὐρίσκεσθαι τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπιτελεῖ-  
 11 σθαι. εἰ δὲ φοβεῖ, ὃ Ἰέρων, μὴ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἄθλων  
 προτιθεμένων πολλαὶ <αἱ> δαπάναι γίνωνται,  
 ἐννόησον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμπορεύματα λυσιτελ-  
 ἔστερα ἢ ὅσα ἄνθρωποι ἄθλων ὠνοῦνται. ὁρᾷς ἐν 55  
 ἵππικοῖς καὶ γυμνικοῖς καὶ χορηγικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὥς  
 μικρὰ ἄθλα μεγάλας δαπάνας καὶ πολλοὺς πόνους  
 καὶ πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας ἐξάγεται ἄνθρώπων;
- X Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὃ  
 Σιμωνίδῃ, καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν· περὶ δὲ τῶν  
 μισθοφόρων ἔχεις τι εἰπεῖν ὥς μὴ μισεῖσθαι δι'  
 αὐτούς; ἢ λέγεις ὥς φιλίαν κτησάμενος ἄρχων  
 οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖσεται δορυφόρων;
- 2 Naὶ μὰ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, δεῖσεται μὲν  
 οὖν. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποις οὕτω καὶ ἐν  
 ἀνθρώποις τισὶν ἐγγίγνεται, ὅσῳ ἂν ἔκπλεα τὰ  
 3 δέοντα ἔχῃσι, τοσοῦτ' ὑβριστοτέροις εἶναι. τοὺς  
 μὲν οὖν τοιούτους μᾶλλον ἂν σωφρονίζῃσι ὁ ἀπὸ 10  
 τῶν δορυφόρων φόβος. τοῖς δὲ καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς  
 ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἂν μοι δοκεῖς τοσαῦτα ὠφελήματα  
 4 παρασχεῖν ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων. τρέφεις  
 μὲν γὰρ δῆπου καὶ σὺ αὐτοὺς σαντῶ φύλακας·

15 ἤδη δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ δεσπόται βία ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων  
 ἀπέθανον. εἰ οὖν ἐν πρώτῳ τούτ' εἴη τῶν  
 προστεταγμένων τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ὥς πάντων  
 ὄντας δορυφόρους τῶν πόλιτῶν βοηθεῖν πᾶσιν, ἂν  
 τι τοιοῦτον αἰσθάνωνται· γίνονται δέ που, ὥς  
 20 πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, κακοῦργοι ἐν πόλεσιν· εἰ οὖν  
 καὶ τούτους φυλάττειν εἴεν τεταγμένοι, καὶ τούτ'  
 ἂν εἶδεῖεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὠφελούμενοι. πρὸς δὲ τού- 5  
 τοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐργάταις καὶ κτήνεσιν  
 οὗτοι ἂν εἰκότως καὶ θάρρος καὶ ἀσφάλειαν  
 25 δύναιτο μάλιστα παρέχειν, ὁμοίως μὲν τοῖς σοῖς  
 ἰδίοις, ὁμοίως δὲ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν. ἱκανοὶ γε  
 μὴν εἰσι καὶ σχολὴν παρέχειν τοῖς πολίταις τῶν  
 ἰδίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τὰ ἐπίκαιρα φυλάττοντες.  
 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πολεμίων ἐφόδους κρυφαίως 6  
 30 καὶ ἐξαπιναιῆς τίνες ἐτοιμότεροι ἢ προαισθῆσθαι  
 ἢ κωλύσαι τῶν ἀεὶ ἐν ὅπλοις τε ὄντων καὶ συντε-  
 ταγμένων; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν στρατείᾳ τί ἐστὶν  
 ὠφελιμώτερον πολίταις μισθοφόρων; τούτους γὰρ  
 προπονεῖν καὶ προκινδυνεύειν καὶ προφυλάττειν  
 35 εἰκὸς ἐτοιμοτάτους εἶναι. τὰς δ' ἀγχιτέρμονας 7  
 πόλεις οὐκ ἀνάγκη διὰ τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντας  
 καὶ εἰρήνης μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖν; οἱ γὰρ συντεταγ-  
 μένοι καὶ σώζειν τὰ τῶν φίλων μάλιστα καὶ  
 σφάλλειν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δύναιτ' ἂν. ὅταν γε 8  
 40 μὴν γινώσιν οἱ πολῖται ὅτι οὗτοι κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν  
 ποιοῦσι τὸν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, τοὺς δὲ κακουργεῖν  
 βουλομένους κωλύουσι, βοηθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἀδικου-  
 μένοις, προνοοῦσι δὲ καὶ προκινδυνεύουσι τῶν  
 πολιτῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη καὶ δαπανᾶν εἰς τού-



τους ἥδιστα; τρέφουσι γοῦν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐπὶ μείοσι <sup>43</sup>  
 ΧΙ τούτων φύλακας. χρή δέ, ὦ Ἱέρων, οὐδ' ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων ὀκνεῖν δαπανᾶν εἰς τὸ  
 κοινὸν ἀγαθόν. καὶ γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τὰ εἰς  
 τὴν πόλιν ἀναλούμενα μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ δέον τελ-  
<sup>2</sup> εἶσθαι ἢ τὰ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ. καθ' <sup>5</sup>  
 ἐν δ' ἕκαστον σκοπῶμεν. οἰκίαν πρῶτον ὑπερ-  
 βαλλούσῃ δαπάνῃ κεκαλλωπισμένην μᾶλλον  
 ἢ γαίᾳ κόσμον ἅν σοι παρέχειν ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν  
 πόλιν τέλχεσί τε καὶ ναοῖς καὶ παραστάσι καὶ  
<sup>3</sup> ἀγοραῖς καὶ λιμέσι κατεσκευασμένην; ὕπλοις δὲ <sup>10</sup>  
 πότερον τοῖς ἐκπαγλοτάτοις αὐτὸς κατακεκοσμη-  
 μένος δεινότερος ἢ φαίνοιο τοῖς πολεμοῖς ἢ τῆς  
<sup>4</sup> πόλεως ὅλης εὐόπλου σοι οὔσης; προσόδους δὲ  
 ποτέρως ἢ δοκεῖς πλείονας γίγνεσθαι, εἰ τὰ σὰ  
 ἴδια μόνον ἐνεργὰ ἔχοις ἢ εἰ τὰ πάντων τῶν <sup>15</sup>  
<sup>5</sup> πολιτῶν μεμηχανημένος εἴης ἐνεργὰ εἶναι; τὸ δὲ  
 πάντων κάλλιστον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον νομι-  
 ζόμενον εἶναι ἐπιτήδευμα, ἄρματοτροφίαν, ποτέρως  
 ἢ δοκεῖς μᾶλλον κοσμεῖν, εἰ αὐτὸς πλείστα τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἄρματα τρέφοις τε καὶ πέμποις εἰς τὰς <sup>20</sup>  
 πανηγύρεις, ἢ εἰ ἐκ τῆς σῆς πόλεως πλείστοι μὲν  
 ἵπποτροφοῖεν πλείστοι δ' ἀγωνίζοντο; νικᾶν δὲ  
 πότερα δοκεῖς κάλλιον εἶναι ἄρματος ἀρετῇ ἢ  
<sup>6</sup> πόλεως, ἥς προστατεύεις, εὐδαιμονίᾳ; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ  
 οὐδὲ προσήκειν φημὶ ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ πρὸς ἰδιώτας <sup>25</sup>  
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι. νικῶν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοιο  
 ἀλλὰ φθονοῖο, ὥς ἀπὸ πολλῶν οἴκων τὰς δαπάνας  
 ποιούμενος, νικώμενος δ' ἂν πάντων μάλιστα  
<sup>7</sup> καταγελῶ. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοὶ φημι, ὦ Ἱέρων, πρὸς

- 30 ἄλλους προστάτας πόλεων τὸν ἀγῶνα εἶναι, ὧν  
 ἐὰν σὺ εὐδαιμονεστέτην τὴν πόλιν, ἥς προστατ-  
 εῦεις, παρέχῃς, εὖ ἔσει νικῶν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ  
 μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγωνίσματι.  
 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εὐθύς κατειργασμένος ἂν εἴῃς τὸ 8
- 35 φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὐ δὴ σὺ ἐπιθυμῶν  
 τυγχάνεις· ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν σὴν νίκην οὐκ ἂν εἰς εἴη  
 ὁ ἀνακηρύττων, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ὑμνοῖεν  
 ἂν τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν. περίβλεπτος δὲ ὧν οὐχ ὑπὸ 9  
 ἰδιωτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ [πολλῶν] πόλεων
- 40 ἀγαπῶ ἂν καὶ θαυμαστὸς οὐκ ἰδίᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ δημοσίᾳ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἂν εἴῃς· καὶ ἐξείῃ μὲν ἂν 10  
 σοι ἔνεκεν ἀσφαλείας, εἴ ποι βούλοιο, θεωρήσονται  
 πορεύεσθαι, ἐξείῃ δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ μένουσι τοῦτο  
 πράττειν. αἰετὰρ ἂν παρὰ σοὶ πανήγυρις εἴη τῶν
- 45 βουλομένων ἐπιδεικνύναι εἴ τίς τι σοφὸν ἢ καλὸν  
 ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἔχοι, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμούντων ὑπηρετεῖν.  
 πᾶς δὲ ὁ μὲν παρὼν σύμμαχος ἂν εἴη σοι, ὁ δὲ 11  
 ἀπὼν ἐπιθυμοίῃ ἂν ἰδεῖν σε. ὥστε οὐ μόνον φιλοῖο  
 ἂν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρῶο ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, φόβον δὲ οὐκ ἂν
- 50 ἔχοις ἀλλ' ἄλλοις παρέχοις μὴ τι πάθῃς, ἐκόντας 12  
 δὲ τοὺς πειθομένους ἔχοις ἂν καὶ ἐβελουσίῳ σου  
 προνοοῦντας θεῶο ἂν, εἰ δέ τις κίνδυνος εἴη, οὐ  
 συμμάχους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ προμάχους καὶ προθύ-  
 μους ὀρώῃς ἂν, πολλῶν μὲν δωρεῶν ἀξιούμενος,
- 55 οὐκ ἀπορῶν δὲ ὅτῳ τούτων εὐμενεῖ μεταδώσεις,  
 πάντας μὲν συγχαίροντας ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς  
 ἀγαθοῖς, πάντας δὲ πρὸ τῶν σῶν ὥσπερ τῶν  
 ἰδίων μαχομένους. θησαυροὺς γε μὴν ἔχοις <ἂν> 13  
 πάντας τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις πλούτους. ἀλλὰ

θαρρῶν, ὃ Ἱέρων, πλούτιζε μὲν τοὺς φίλους· 60  
σαυτὸν γὰρ πλουτιεῖς· αὖξε δὲ τὴν πόλιν· σαυτῷ  
γὰρ δύναμιν περιάψεις· κτῷ δὲ αὐτῇ συμμάχους·  
14 νόμιζε δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα οἶκον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας  
ἐταίρους, τοὺς δὲ φίλους τέκνα σεαυτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ  
παῖδας ὅτι περ τὴν σὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τούτους 65  
15 πάντας πειρῷ νικᾶν εὖ ποιῶν. ἐὰν γὰρ τοὺς  
φίλους κρατῆς εὖ ποιῶν, οὐ μὴ σοι δύνωνται  
ἀντέχειν οἱ πολέμιοι. κἂν ταῦτα πάντα ποιῆς,  
εὖ ἴσθι πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κάλλιστον καὶ  
μακαριώτατον κτῆμα κεκτήσῃ· εὐδαιμονῶν γὰρ 70  
οὐ φθονήσῃ.

NOTES  
ON  
THE *HIERON*  
OR  
XENOPHON

N.B. The Marginal Numerals refer to the Pages of the Text.

The References to the Notes are by Chapters and Sections.  
COBET refers to *Novae Lectiones* by Prof. C. G. Cobet, Leyden, 1858.

G. to Prof. W. W. Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*. Macmillan and Co.

G. *sr.* to Prof. W. W. Goodwin's *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*. 6th Edition. 1875.

HA. to Prof. James Hadley's *Greek Grammar*, revised and in part rewritten by Prof. Fr. Allen. Macmillan and Co.

KÜHN. to *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache* von Dr Raphael Kühner. Ed. 2. Hannover, 1869—1870.

MADV. to Madvig's *Syntax of the Greek Language* tr. by H. Browne. Rivingtons, 1853.

TH. to F. E. Thompson's *Syntax of Attic Greek*. Rivingtons, 1883.

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# NOTES

## CHAPTER 1

*Simonides, on occasion of a visit to the court of Hieron, the despot of Syracuse, asks him, as one who has personally tried the life of a private citizen and that of a despot, which of the two he considers preferable in regard to pleasures and pains (§ 1—§ 2). Before replying to his question, Hieron inquires of Simonides what are the agreeables and disagreeables of private life, and, when Simonides has recounted these, declares that he does not know any sensations of pleasure or pain that a despot is susceptible of besides those he has mentioned (§ 3—§ 7). Simonides says that, though despots may experience no other pleasures, still what they have exceed in variety and degree those of private men, while of pains they have a much smaller share (§ 8).*

*Hieron replies that the life of a despot has much more pain, and much less pleasure, than that of a private citizen of middling circumstances. Simonides insists on the superior means of enjoyment possessed by the despot, because otherwise so many would not have aspired to be despots, nor would despots have been the object of so much envy to all mankind (§ 9). 'Their inexperience of both conditions of life misleads them', says Hieron. 'The despot feels no greater real happiness in his own bosom; while he suffers many pains and privations of which the spectator takes no account. As to the pleasures of sight, the despot forfeits altogether the first and greatest, because it is unsafe for him to travel abroad or visit the public festivals and matches' (§ 10—§ 13).*

'Well' replies Simonides 'at all events despots have the advantage of us in what they hear, if not in what they see. Their ears are always gratified by praise, while they escape the unpleasantness of censure and detraction' (§ 14).

To this Hieron replies 'There is not much to gratify in praise which is insincere, nor in the absence of censure, which is unheard only because speakers dare not express what they really feel' (§ 15).

'I quite agree with you' says Simonides 'that disinterested praise is the pleasantest. But surely in the pleasures of the table there can be no comparison between despots and private men. The despot has finer cookery and richer unguents'. 'This' says Hieron 'is a vulgar error. A thing is pleasant in proportion to its rarity. He who but rarely meets with a delicacy enjoys it with a keener relish. As to the scent of unguents, it gives more pleasure to those who are near him than to the despot himself' (§ 16—§ 25).

- 1 § 1.1.1 ποτέ, 'once upon a time', G. § 87, 2. 2 σχολῆς γενομένης ἀμφοῖν, G. § 184, 4, HA. § 768. 3 ὁ Σιμωνίδης: The article is used as in renewed mention. 4ρ' ἂν—ἐθέλησαι, 'would you be willing?' On the use of the optative with ἂν as a potential without expressed protasis see my note to Cyr. II i 8, G. § 226, 2 (b) Note 1, MT. § 52, 2 Note, HA. § 872. 4 εἰκόσ, sc. ἐστίν, ix 6, x 7. 6 καὶ ποῖα, 'pray, what sort of things?' καὶ prefixed to an interrogative pronoun or particle serves to emphasize the question. 6 ποῖα—ἂν εἰδείην, 'such as I must know', potential opt. as above l. 3. 7 βελτίων σου: G. § 75. οὕτως ὄντος σοφοῦ ἀνδρός, 'such a wise man as you': οὕτως, like πολύ, πάνυ, μᾶλλον and other adverbs, is frequently separated from the adjectives or adverbs which it qualifies for the sake of additional emphasis: cf. l. 130, Oecon. II 9.

§ 2.1.9 οἷδ' αὖ...γεγενημένον: G. § 280. ἰδιώτης is the 'ordinary private man', in contradistinction to one who is distinguished by his office or by the possession of some professional acquirement (ἐπαίων). See on iv l. 32.

10 ἀμφοτέρων, i.e. τοῦ τυραννικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ιδιωτικοῦ βίου. πεπειραμένον, 'since you have had experience', G. § 277, 2. 11 πῇ, *qua ratione*, 'in what way' G. § 87, 2, HA. § 779 a. 12 εἰς εὐφροσύνας, 'in respect to enjoyments'. Cf. Anab. ii vi 30 οὐδεὶς εἰς φιλικὴν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμφετο, Cyr. i iii 1 πάντων τῶν ἡλικίων διαφέρων ἐφαίνετο εἰς τὸ ταχὺ μανθάνειν ἃ δέοι, Oecon. ii. 4, xviii 1 διδάσκει οὖν εἴ τι ἔχεις με καὶ εἰς τοῦτο. εὐφροσύνη is one of the many poetical words used by Xen. See Index I for a list of such words. 13 ἀνθρώποις, generically 'mankind', cf. vii 9, viii 8. For the dat. see G. § 184, 5, HA. § 771.

§ 3 l. 14 τί οὖν...οὐχὶ σύ...ὑπέμνησάς με (for ὑπόμνησόν με), 'why do you not then at once recall to my mind?' The aorist with τί οὐ expresses a command or proposal in the more lively form of a question: cf. Cyrop. ii i 4 with my note, viii iii 46 τί οὖν οὐχὶ...καὶ ἐμὲ εὐδαίμονα ἐποίησας; and see HA. § 839. 15 τὰ ἐν τῷ ἰδ. β. scil. εὐφροσύνας τε καὶ λύπας. 16 οὕτω=*si hoc feceris*, 'so', 'in this case' (i.e. if you remind me), stands in lieu of the proper protasis to ἀν δύνασθαι: cf. Mem. i ii 59 οὐ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε, καὶ γὰρ ἐαυτὸν οὕτω γ' ἂν ᾤετο δεῖν παιεσθαι, where οὕτω stands for εἰ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε, and see G. § 226, 1, HA. § 902. ἀν οἶμαι...δύνασθαι: G. § 136, N. 3, HA. § 940. On ἀν anticipated hyperbatically with οἶμαι see my note to Cyr. i vi 18.

§ 4 l. 18 οὕτω δῆ, *quamobrem*, not 'spake thus', in reference to what follows. μὲν δῆ, 'well then', introducing in a lively manner the full explanation of the proposed subject.

- 2 § 5 l. 23 τὰ ψυχῇ καὶ θάλλῃ, '(extremes of) cold and heat'. Abstract substantives are used in plural where instances of the quality are denoted in Greek just as in Latin; see Index I and my note on Cic. de off. i. § 78 l. 3. 24 ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι: in opp. to the five organs of sense. Cf. Cic. de nat. deor. ii § 141 *tactus autem toto corpore aequabiliter fusus est, ut omnis ictus omnisque minimos et rigoris et caloris appulsus sentire possimus.* 25 ἤδεσθαι...ἐπ'



αὐτοῖς: ἐπὶ is used of the antecedent cause or ground of any mental affection, where the simple dative of cause (HA. § 778 a) might be used; for an instance of the two constructions, cf. Anab. II vi 26 ὥσπερ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεοσεβείᾳ..., οὕτω Μένων ἡγάλλετο τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι. 27 ἔστι μὲν ὅτι...ἔστι δ' ὅτε, 'sometimes...at other times', HA. § 998 b. For the *anaphora*, cf. II 15, III 2. δι' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς, 'with the mind alone'. Cf. Oecon. VII 3, XVII 15. 28 κοινῇ, *una*, 'jointly'; but in VII 9 it means *publice*.

§ 3 l. 30 ὅπως, indefinite relative, 'how', 'in what manner'; HA. § 1054, 3. There was a variety of opinions amongst philosophers of old—Alkmaeon, Empedoklēs, Aristotle—on the causes of sleep. 31 ὅτινι καὶ ὅποτε, 'by what means' (not, as some, 'with what part', i.e. body or mind or both) and at what time' (i.e. when actually asleep or when falling asleep). μᾶλλον sc. ἢ ὅτι ἡδόμεθα τῷ ὕπνῳ, not as Bernhardt takes it, 'more than is right'. 32 καὶ οὐδὲν—ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, 'and yet this surely is not at all a matter of surprise, since the sensations produced by what takes place in a waking state are more distinct than those produced in a state of sleep'; σαφεστεράς, being a predicate adjective, precedes the article, cf. I. 42 and see G. § 142, 3, HA. § 618. Some take ἐλ for ὅτι after a word expressive of wonder, see G. § 228, HA. § 926.

§ 7 l. 35 ἐγὼ μὲν, 'I for my part'. The μὲν refers to an opposition which is understood without being expressly mentioned as in *ἴσως μὲν, εἰκὸς μὲν, οἶμαι μὲν, δοκῶ μὲν, ὥς μὲν λέγουσιν*, which imply some possible different view or statement, cf. VII 4, XI 6. ἀπεκρίνατο—ἔφη: On the pleonastic use of ἔφη, φάναι, εἶπε, λέγει etc. see my n. on Oecon. VIII 2.

36 ἔξω τούτων ὧν εἶρηκας: G. § 153, HA. § 994. Translate 'I cannot say how a despot could possibly be sensible of anything else beyond (lit. 'outside of') what (such pleasures and pains as) you have mentioned; and consequently thus far I do not know in what respect the life of a despot differs from that of a private person'. 37 ἂν αἰσθόιτο—ἐχούμ' ἂν: see note to § 1 l. 3. 38 ὥστε, *quo fit ut, quocirca*, marks

a strong conclusion. **μέχρι γε τούτου**, 'so far at least', 'hitherto'. **οὐκ οἶδ'** *ei*: *haud scio an* would have exactly an opposite meaning.

§ 8 l. 40 **ἀλλά—διαφέρει**: *ἀλλά* is often used, as here, in quick answers and objections. **ἐν τοῖσδε** = 'in this (the following) respect'.

41 **πολλαπλάσια εὐφραίνεται** (scil. *ὁ τύραννος τοῦ ιδιώτου*) = *πολλαπλάσιαι εὐφροσύνας εὐφραίνεται*: see G. § 159 Note 2, HA. § 716 b. We should have expected the explanatory **γάρ** after **μέν**; but this is often omitted. Cf. *de ven.* v 31: *τεκμήριον δέ, ὡς εὐφρόν' ἔστιν· ὅταν ἄπρεμα διαπορεύηται, πηδᾶ κτλ.*

**τούτων** i.e. the organs of sense. 42 **μῖω τὰ λυπηρὰ ἔχει**: cf. l. 32 note. 44 **μῖω πολὺ εὐφραίνονται**, 'have much fewer pleasures and pains much more in number and greater in degree than private persons with moderate means (those in the middle ranks of life)'. For the position of **πολύ** cf. the Latin *plura multo, maiora multo, ante multo, post paulo*.

§ 9 l. 47 *ei* **γάρ οὕτω ταῦτ' εἶχε—ἐπεθύμουν**, 'how comes it that so many would have desired if this had been the case (which it is not)?' G. § 222, HA. § 895. If we substitute for the interrogative **πῶς** its equivalent negative **οὐκ**, the superiority of the reading in the text, which is that of Stobaeos, over the vulgate **ἔχει** will carry conviction with it.

49 **καὶ ταῦτα**, *idque*, 'and that too', often used with the participle when it stands in a concessive relation, HA. § 612 a, G. § 277 Note 1 (b). **τῶν δοκούντων ἱκανωτάτων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι**, 'of those who are considered to be most competent persons'. The predicate-noun with *εἶναι* or *γίγνεσθαι* stands in the genitive when it is preceded by the genitive of a participle of a verb *declarandi* or *sentiendi*: cf. below ii 1, Plat. *Apol.* c. 7, c. 32 *τῶν φασκόντων δικαστῶν εἶναι*, and see HA. § 941, G. § 136 Note 3 (b), *Madv.* § 158. By *ἱκανωτάτων* Weiske and Schneider understand 'most rich and powerful' ( *τῶν μετρίως διαγόντων*, cl. *de re eq.* ii 1, *τίπτονται μὲν γάρ δὴ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἰππεύειν οἱ τοῖς χρήμασι τε ἱκανώτατοι καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μετέχοντες*. 50 **πῶς δὲ πάντες**:

the regular order should have been *πῶς πάντες δέ* to correspond with *πῶς ἂν πολλοὶ μὲν*. Cf. *Anab.* iii iv 2 *ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμισε ποιῆσαι*, *Mem.* i vi 11 *σὲ μὲν δίκαιον νομίζω, σοφὸν δὲ οὐδὲ ὁπωστίουν*, for *σὲ δίκαιον μὲν κτλ.*, i i 10 *ἔλεγε μὲν (Σωκράτης) ὡς τὸ πολὺ, τοῖς δὲ βουλευμένοις ἐξῆν ἀκούειν*; but, though *μὲν—δέ* are commonly placed after the words which are severally opposed to each other, the Greeks did not always observe uniformity in this respect, referring them sometimes to the predicate, sometimes to the whole clause.

- 3 § 10 l. 52 *ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔργων*, 'of both conditions of life', i.e. the state of both the private man and the despot. This is better than to take *ἀμφοτέρων*, as it is taken by Bremi, Frotscher and Sauppe, as a genitive dependent upon *τῶν ἔργων* 'the circumstances of each', cf. *Anab.* v v 18 *βίᾳ οὐδὲν ἐλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἐκείνων*, vi v 38 *Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου*, *Hell.* vii i 13. For the above meaning of *ἔργον* cf. *Oecon.* iv 5. *περὶ αὐτοῦ*, scil. *περὶ τοῦ τυραννεῖν*.  
 54 *ἐντεῦθεν*, scil. *ἀπὸ τῆς ὁψέως*, *inde*, 'with that'. The order is *δοκῶ γὰρ μεμνησθαι* (HA. § 944 a) *καὶ σὲ ἀρξάμενον ἐντεῦθεν λέγω*. The phrase *ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τίνος*, *inde a*, 'beginning with any person or thing', generally agrees in gender, number and case with the substantive, of which it defines and limits the sense, almost with an adverbial signification, as in *Plato Theaet.* p. 171 b *ἐξ ἀπάντων... ἀπὸ... Πρωταγόρου ἀρξαμένων ἀμφισβητήσεται*. See my note to *Cyr.* i vi 8 l. 74 and *Madv.* § 176 (c) Rem. On the construction *μεμνησθαι—ἀρξάμενον* see G. § 280, HA. § 982. 56 *τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὁψέως θεάμασι*: cf. l. 20.

§ 11 l. 57 *εὕρισκω μειονεκτοῦντας*, 'I find that they are worse off'. Observe that *μειονεκτεῖν* (the opposite to which is *πλεονεκτεῖν*) may be used either (1) absolutely or (2) with the dative (a) alone (l. 77) or (b) with *ἐν* as here, (3) with the genitive of the thing of which one falls short, as iv l. 3, (4) with genitive of person and dative of thing (l. 107, l. 111). *μὲν γέ* see n. on viii 9. *ἄλλα—ἐν ἄλλῃ χώρῃ*, 'some things are worth seeing in one country, some in another'.

58 ἐπὶ τούτων ἕκαστα—συναγείρεσθαι, 'in quest of these several curiosities private men resort either to such cities as they may please for the sake of the sights in them, or to the national festivals, in which it is considered there is a collection of sights most worth seeing'. By πανηγύρεις are meant in particular the Olympian games in which Hieron so distinguished himself. Frotscher explains συναγείρεσθαι as = ὥστε συναγείρεσθαι αὐτούς. Cobet suspects that there is something wrong here and that several words have been lost. See crit. n.

59 εἰς πόλεις ἃς ἄν βούλωνται: for εἰς πόλεις εἰς ἃς ἄν βούλωνται ἵέναι; cf. Oecon. x 10 εἰ κατὰ χώραν ἔχει ἦν δεῖ ἕκαστα for καθ' ἣν, Cyr. II iv 11 with my note.

§ 12 l. 62 οὐ μάλα ἀμφὶ θεωρίας ἔχουσιν, 'have not much to do with', 'are not much concerned about public shows': cf. Oecon. vi 7 τοὺς ἀμφὶ γῆν ἔχοντας, Cyr. VIII iii 20 ἀμφὶ τοὺς φίλους ἔχειν, IV ii 35 ἀμφὶ συσκευασίαν ἔχειν, IV v 14 ἀμφὶ ταῦτα εἶχον, v i 30, v 44, v iv 10 ἀμφὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἔχειν i. e. φυλάττειν. 64 ἀσφαλές, sc. ἐστὶ.

ὅπου μὴ, the negative μὴ is used because of the indefinite (implied) antecedent 'anywhere' (conditional relative clause): see G. § 231, HA. § 1021.

κρείττονες τῶν παρόντων, 'superior in strength to those present at them'. 65 τὰ οἴκοι, 'their affairs at home'. G. § 141, Note 3, also § 190 Note 2, HA. § 666 a, also § 220.

ἀποδημεῖν, 'possess in sufficient security' (G. § 142, 3, HA. § 618) to leave them in the charge of others while they are absent from their kingdom'. See note to l. 74.

66 φοβερὸν (sc. ἐστὶ) μὴ, 'it is to be feared lest'.

68 τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας, 'to revenge themselves on those who do them wrong' (in deposing them), 'their aggressors'. τιμωρεῖν is 'to assist one who has suffered wrong', 'to avenge' with the dative of the person avenged, the accusative of the person on whom vengeance is taken, and the genitive of the crime avenged; the middle τιμωρεῖσθαι is 'to avenge oneself upon', 'visit with punishment', with the accusative of the person and genitive of the crime. Plato de rep. ix p. 579 B draws a similar picture of the misery of a despot debarred

from the privileges and pleasures of travelling and seeing men and manners, and confined to the prison of his own court: *λίχνη δὲ ὄντι αὐτῷ τὴν ψυχὴν μόνῃ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει οὕτε ἀποδημῆσαι ἐξέστιν οὐδαμῶς οὕτε θεωρῆσαι ὅσων δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐλεύθεροι ἐπιθυμηταὶ εἰσι, καταδεδικώς δὲ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὰ πολλὰ ὥς γυνὴ ζῆν, φθονῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολιταῖς, ἐάν τις ἐξω ἀποδημῇ καὶ τι ἀγαθὸν ὁρᾷ.*

§ 13 l. 68 *ἔποις ἄν*, potential opt. See n. to l. 3.

69 *ἀλλ' ἄρα*, 'but then surely'. τὰ τοιαῦτα: generic article, 'spectacles of this kind'; G. § 141 (d), HA. § 659.

70 καὶ οἶκοι μένουσι, 'even when they stay at home'.

καὶ μὲν Δία appears to serve not so much the purpose of affirming the preceding position, as of ushering in the subsequent objection. See Shilleto Dem. *de fals. leg.* App. III.

71 *ὀλίγα γε τῶν πολλῶν* (scil. *ἐρχεται αὐτοῖς*), 'only a few out of the many that there are', partit. gen., G. § 168.

72 τοιαῦτα ὄντα, 'such as they are', scil. *ὀλίγα*.

τίμα πωλεῖται, 'are sold at a high price': on the use of predicate adjectives in apposition to the subject, where other languages use an adverb, see HA. § 619.

73 οἱ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι καὶ ὅτιοῦν, 'those who furnish any exhibition, ever so small'. ἀξιοῦσι, 'expect'.

74 λαβόντες—ἀπιέναι, *secum auferre*, 'to go away with'. The participle here expresses the leading idea; cf. Cyr. I iv 13, 20, Anab. VII vii 53 ταῦτα λαβὼν ἄπιθι, G. § 279, 4, HA. § 968 b.

ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, 'within a short time'. Cf. Mem. I iii 13 ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ, de red. IV 23 ἐν ἑτεσι πέντε ἢ ἑξ.

75 πολλαπλάσια—ἢ ὅσα κτῶνται, 'many times—as great as they get'. Cf. Cyr. IV ii 37 ὅπως διπλάσια σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ παρασκευασμένα ἢ ἢ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐποίετέ, with my note, de red. I 5 ὀρυσσομένη δὲ (γῆ) πολλαπλασίους τρέφει ἢ εἰ σῖτον ἔφερε. The same thought might have been expressed also by πολλαπλάσια ὅσων κτῶνται, such adjectives having the construction of comparatives; see G. § 175 Note 1, HA. § 755 a, and cp. Cyr. V ii 30, VII iii 38.

§ 14 l. 77 ἀλλά—γέ τοι, 'well—at any rate'. Ἀλλὰ is used with an adversative force in relation to a latent feeling

in the mind of the speaker. τοῖς θεάμασι, 'in respect of sights', see above l. 106, G. § 188 Note 1, HA. § 780. 79 τοῦ ἡδίστου ἀκροάματος: cf. Cic. or. p. Arch. § 20 *Themistoclen illum dixisse aiunt, cum ex eo quaereretur, quod acroama aut cuius vocem libentissime audiret: 'eius, a quo sua virtus optime praedicaretur'*. 80 ὑμῖν may be regarded either as governed by παρόντες or as the dative belonging to the whole sentence rather than to any special word, G. § 184, 4, HA. § 771.

4 82 τοῦ χαλεπωτάτου ἀκροάματος: for the genitive after ἀνήκοι, 'not hearing', see G. § 180 Note 1, HA. § 753 d. Cf. Mem. II i 31 τοῦ πάντων ἡδίστου ἀκούσματος, ἐπαίνου ἑαυτῆς, ἀνήκοος εἶ. ἐπαίνου is in descriptive apposition with ἀκροάματος, HA. § 624 b. 83 κατ' ὀφθαλμούς, 'to his face'; cf. Arist. Ran. 626 ἵνα σοὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς λέγῃ, Soph. Antig. 760 κατ' ὀμματα, Eur. Andr. 1064 ἐλθεῖν κατ' ὀμματα.

84 κακηγορεῖν, 'to slander', 'speak evil of': see cr. n.

§ 15 l. 85 καὶ τί οἶε—εὐφραίνειν, 'but, pray, what pleasure do you think they give who don't speak evil of us?' On the emphatic καὶ before interrogative particles and pronouns see n. to l. 6, and on the use of the negative μή with the participle, G. § 283, 4, HA. § 1025 a. 87 οἱ σιωπῶντες οὗτοι, 'these your silent men'; the participle with the article used substantively instead of a relative periphrasis of a person, see G. § 276, 2. πάντες κακόνοι εἰσὶ: see cr. n. 89 ὑποπτοῖσι—τοὺς ἐπαίνους ποιεῖσθαι, 'are suspected of bestowing their (G. § 141 Note 2) praises for the sake of flattering'. On the personal for impersonal construction see HA. § 944 a, G. § 280 Note 1, G. MT. § 93 Note 2 (b).

§ 16 l. 94 ὁρᾷς and ὁρᾶτε at the beginning, or parenthetically in the middle of a sentence, are used, without any influence on the construction, like Latin *viden*, 'do you see? don't you see?' in explanation, where the speaker assumes that his statement must command assent; cf. Arist. Nub. 355, Thesm. 496 ταῦθ', ὁρᾷς, οὐπόποτ' εἶπεν, Plat. Protag. p. 336 b ἀλλ', ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, δίκαια δοκεῖ λέγειν Πρωταγόρας. ἐκεῖνό γε, *illud certe*, 'this certainly', viz. what has yet to be mentioned.

οὐκ ἔτι, *non item, non iam*, 'not as in the other case'. So in Mem. iv iv 20, after several θεῶν νόμοι have been enumerated, Socrates says, οὐκ ἔτι μοι δοκεῖ—οὗτος θεοῦ νόμος εἶναι, Agesil. ii 26 Κόρυς ἀπηλλάγη—. Μαύσωλός γε μήν—οὐκ ἔτι ('not like the others') δέσας ἀλλὰ πεισθεὶς ἀπέπλευσεν ἀκαδε, Oecon. xxi 11, Cyr. i v 8 l. 79 with my note. οὐκ ἂν πείσαις—οὐδένα, 'you would not get any one to believe'. The protasis implied is, 'if you were to try', see n. to l. 3. 96 ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐφραίνεσθε, 'you enjoy yourselves in respect to them'. We should have expected a demonstrative reference (ἐν τούτοις), but cf. Cyr. viii viii 16 τὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ὄσα τε πρόσθεν εἴρητο, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀφήρηται.

§ 17 l. 97 καί—γε, 'yes (I agree with you) and what is more'. τούτω κρίνουσιν, 'judge by this fact' viz. 8 τι δοκοῦσι κτλ. Cf. iv 8 οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀριθμῷ τὰ πολλὰ κρίνεται.

98 ἥδιον, *libentius*, 'with greater relish'; cp. iii 2, viii 5.

99 δοκοῦσι—ἑαυτοῖς, 'they have a notion that they themselves also would have more pleasure in partaking of an entertainment served to us than of one served to themselves'. Παρατιθέναι τινί is the technical term for 'setting a meal before a person', so οἱ παρατιθέντες are 'the serving-men', Cyr. viii viii 20, τὰ παρατιθέμενα, 'the meats served', ii i 30, v ii 16. Cf. Arist. Ach. 85, Eq. 52 βούλει παραθῶ σοι δόρπον; 101 τοῦτο, emphatic, 'this it is which'. See G. § 152 Note 3, H.A. § 996 b and cp. §§ 21, 25, 32, de rep. Athen. i 2 οἱ κυβερνήται—καὶ οἱ ναυπηγοί, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὴν δύναμιν περιτιθέντες τῇ πόλει. 102 τὰς ἡδονάς, 'their enjoyment'; cp. l. 89.

§ 18 l. 102 ἡδέως προσδέχονται, 'look forward with pleasure to', Apol. c. 33 ἡλαρῶς προσεδέχετο τὸν θάνατον.

103 πλὴν οὐχ: see crit. n. 104 ἐκπλεω—παρεσκευασμένοι, 'since they have been always provided to the full, supplied with abundance'. For the predicate nominative see G. § 166 Note 4. οὐδεμίαν—ἔχουσιν—ἐπίδοσιν, 'do not admit any sort of addition', cf. Oecon. xx 23 οὐδὲν ἔχει πλεονα ἐπίδοσιν ἡ χάρις ἐξ ἀργοῦ ἀάφορος γιγνόμενος. 106 τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ

τῆς ἡλπίδος, 'the pleasure of (i.e. arising from) anticipation'. For εὐφροσύνη see n. on vii 4. 107 μειονεκτοῦσι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν: see n. on l. 57.

§ 19 l. 107 ἐκεῖνο, 'the following fact', l. 94. The acc. depends loosely upon ἐμπειρος εἰ (not on οἶδα): see n. to Oecon. xvi 6, and cf. Cyr. iii iii 9 ἐπιστήμονες ἦσαν τὰ προσήκοντα. See cr. n. 108 ὄσφ, G. § 188, 2, HA. § 781. πλείω, predicate adjective; cf. l. 32 with note. 109 παραθήται, *sibi apponi iubeat*, 'has set before him', the middle in causative sense. Cf. Cyr. v ii 19. τὰ περιττά τῶν ἱκανῶν 'superfluities': περιττός having a latent comparative force takes the gen., as in Cyr. viii ii 21, 22 περιττά τῶν ἀρκούντων. τοσοῦτῳ θάπτον, *eo citius*. 110 τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς, 'in respect to the duration of the pleasure'.

- 5 § 20 l. 114 προσίηται sc. τὰ παρατιθέμενα, 'approves', 'likes' (what is served), i.e. as long as the appetite for food continues. The verb προσίεσθαι admits of a double construction: τοῦτό με προσίεται 'this likes me', and τοῦτο προσίεται, 'I like, affect this'. Cf. Cyr. viii vii 4 τῷ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ σῖτον οὐ προσίετο.

§ 21 l. 117 τὸν ἡδόμενον—τοῦτον: see n. to l. 101.

- l. 118 οὐκοῦν.....ἡρωτικώτατα ἔχειν τοῦ ἔργου τούτου; 'do you imagine that the greater delight a man takes in any occupation, the more fondly he is attached to it?' The form of the sentence is like that of v 4 l. 30. Cf. Oecon. xii 15 ἑρωτικῶς ἔχουσι τοῦ κερδαίνειν, Cyr. iii iii 12 ἑρωτικῶς ἔχειν τοῦ ἥδη ποιεῖν τι, and for the gen. see G. § 182, 1, and HA. § 756. 120 πάνυ μὲν οὖν sc. ὁλομαι, 'of course', 'unquestionably'. The most simple way of expressing an affirmative answer is by ναί; more strongly by πάνυ γε, πάνυ μὲν οὖν, πάντως δὲ, μάλιστα, καὶ μάλα, σφόδρα γε, φημί, τί γάρ; τί μὴν; πῶς γάρ οὐ; and an answer in the negative by οὐ, οὐ δῆτα, οὐδαμῶς, ἥκιστα, πῶς; πόθεν; οὐ μὲν οὖν, see below, l. 124. 121 τι—ἥδιον, 'with at all greater pleasure'. So below ii 18 οὐδέν τι 'not at all', iv 7 θάπτον τι, Herod. iv 52 οὕτω τι, Thuc. i 107 τό τι.



124 οὐ μὰ τὸν Δι', οὐ μὲν οὖν scil. ὁρῶ. Stobaeos has οὐ μὲν δῆ. Cf. Cyr. v 18 οὐ μὰ τὸν Δι'—οὐ μὲν δῆ, i vi 9, ii ii 22.

125 ἀγλευκότερον) (ῥῆδιον, 'more sourly', 'with less pleasure'. Suidas s.v. Ἀγλευκὲς τὸ ἀγρὲς Ξενοφῶν ἐρρηκεν ἐν τῷ Οἰκονομικῷ (viii 4). Δοκεῖ δὲ ξενικὸν τὸ βρομα, Σικελικόν· πολλὸ γοῦν ἐστὶ παρὰ τῷ ῥινθῶνι. Καὶ ἀγλευκότερον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγρὲστερον Ξενοφῶν Ἰέρωνι. ἀν δόξειε: § 11. 3.

§ 22 l. 126 μηχανήματα, afterwards (l. 136) called σοφίσματα, 'skilful dressings of food', 'artificial stimulants to the appetite'. 128 στρυφνά, 'harsh', 'astringent'. τούτων ἀδελφά, 'akin to these', HA. § 754 d. 130 πάνν μὲν οὖν scil. κατανερόγκα. καὶ πανύ γε, to be taken with παρὰ φύσιν, 'quite unnatural'. See n. to ii 10.

§ 23 l. 132 ἄλλο τι οὖν...ἐπιθυμήματα, 'do you then suppose that these viands are anything else but objects of craving to an appetite sickly and weakened by indulgence?'

In my former editions I followed Cobet in accepting ταῦτα ἐδέσματα, the reading of **N**, so that Hieron's meaning should be 'do you think that these are (merely) eatables or etc.'; but I now see that there are objections fatal to this interpretation. In the first place ἄλλο τι οἶε, according to Platonic usage (see Hipparch. p. 226 E ἄλλο τι οὖν οἷ γε φιλοκερδεῖς φιλοῦσι τὸ κέρδος, Euthyphr. p. 10 D ἄλλο τι φιλεῖται ὑπὸ θεῶν) can only mean πομπή putas 'do you not think?' (G. § 282, 3, HA. § 1015 b), and in the second place we find that Xenophon does not use ἄλλο τι but ἄλλο τι—ἤ, as in Cyr. III ii 18 ἄλλο τι οὖν ἢ διὰ τὸ τῆς γῆς σπανίζειν ἀγαθῆς νῦν πένητες νομίζουσι εἶναι; Anab. II v 10 ἄλλο τι ἂν ἢ—ἀγωνιζοίμεθα; IV vii 5 ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παρίεναι; Oecon. i 16 ἄλλο τι ἢ τούτοις οὔτε αἱ ἐπιστήμαι χρήματά εἰσιν οὔτε τὰ κτήματα; I conclude therefore that we should stand by the common reading—the absence of τὰ in **N** may easily be accounted for by lipography—taking ἐδέσματα as the subject of εἶναι, not as its predicate, and giving ἤ the meaning of *quam*, not *aut*.

134 ἐπιθυμήματα, 'objects of desire'. See iv 7, where cities, fields, harbours etc., which are coveted by kings, are opposed τοῖς ἰδιωτικοῖς ἐπιθυμήμασιν. 135 πού, 'I presume', 'surely', used where the speaker puts something in a half-questioning manner. οὐδὲν προσδέονται, 'do not at all require in addition'. The πρόσ has here its adverbial, not a prepositional sense. Cf. iv 11.

§ 24 l. 137 ἀλλὰ μέντοι—τούτων—τοὺς πλησιάζοντας—ἀπολαύειν κτλ., 'well certainly in the case of those expensive unguents with which we are familiar, I really do believe that those who are near your person have more enjoyment of them than you yourselves have, just as, in respect to disagreeable odours, it is not the person himself who has eaten (anything which emits a disagreeable odour) who is sensible of them, as those who come near him'. For the construction of ἀπολαύειν cf. Cyr. vii v 81 διψήσας τῶν ἡδίστων ποτῶν ἀπολαύσεται, Amphis Leuc. (Mein. Com. Fr. iii p. 311) ἐξὸν ἀπολαύειν ἰχθύων ἀληθινῶν, Antiphanes Arch. (ib. iii p. 22) ἀπόλαυε τοῦ ζῆμου, ῥόφει, Didym. (ib. p. 44) ἀπέλαυσα πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐδεσμάτων, Diodor. Epicler. v 19 (ib. p. 544) πάντων ἀπολαύσας τῶν παραπεθέντων. 140 ἀχαρίτων: the reading ἀχαρίστων offends against Cobet's canon who (*Nov. Lect.* p. 420) says, 'perpetuo Veterum usu εὐχαρις et εὐχαρίστος, ἀχαρις et ἀχαρίστος sic distinguuntur ut *animus gratum et ingratum habentes εὐχαρίστοι et ἀχαρίστοι dicantur*, sed *venustus et scitus et elegans εὐχαρις et ἐπιχαρις nominetur*, et *ἀχαρις qui venustatis et elegantiae sit expers*. Nauci non sunt formae ὁ ἡ ἀχαρίτος, εὐχαρίτος et ἐπιχαρίτος a Graeculis imperite fictae. Probae sunt τοῦ ἀχαρίτος, οἱ εὐχαρίτες, et sic τὰ ἀχαρίτα et λέγειν οὐκ ἀχαρίτα pro χαρίεντα'. 140 αὐτός, ipse. ὁ βεβρωκώς: see n. to l. 87.

- 6 § 25 l. 143 τῶν σίτων, partitive genitive dependent upon παντοδαπά. Observe that the usual plural of ὁ σίτος is not οἱ σῖτοι but τὰ σῖτα. For the sentiment cf. *Mém.* iv v 9. 144 μετὰ πόθου, periphrasis for adverb. 145 τινός sc. σίτου. For the emphatic οὗτος cf. above l. 101. Hiero's meaning is:— '(You admit that the enjoyment of unguents is not after all so great). This is precisely the case with those who have constantly a variety of food set before them. They eat nothing with an appetite, whereas he who rarely meets with any delicacy, this is the man who takes his fill of it with enjoyment, whenever it comes before him'. Schenkl proposes to read τῶν τοιοῦτων for τῶν σίτων.

## CHAPTER II

*Still, contends Simonides, there are other pleasures greater than those of sense. You despots have a considerable advantage over private men because you can conceive and readily execute great projects and can do most to benefit your friends and hurt your enemies; you have all the proud consciousness of superior might. You possess the greatest abundance and variety of possessions; you have at your command luxuries of all sorts, the finest chariots and horses, the most splendid arms, the most brilliant ornaments for your wives, the finest and most sumptuously furnished palaces and the most numerous, intelligent and valuable servants (§ 1—§ 2).*

*Hieron expresses his surprise that a wise man like Simonides should be misled by outward appearances and take the popular view of happiness and unhappiness. A despot's possessions and all that is reckoned of most value are displayed before the eyes of the vulgar; but they do not see the reality in the background, the evils to which he is exposed are concealed from them, lying as they do in the inmost recesses of his soul, where alone real happiness or misery resides (§ 3—§ 5). A despot has less enjoyment from the greatest blessings incident to human life, such as peace, and more vexation from the greatest curses, such as war, than a private citizen: he is a slave in many things where a private man is free; he cannot in his own country, with safety to his person, freely pass from place to place, but must go about fully armed himself and with an armed escort, as if he were in an enemy's country (§ 6—§ 8). Private persons on their return from a foreign expedition consider themselves safe at all events when they get back; not so despots, who find themselves then most surrounded by enemies. Or in case of an invasion, private men can retire within their fort for safety; but a despot does not find his home a castle, but must be on his guard there more than in any other place (§ 9—§ 10). Again private persons can obtain a respite from war by a truce and by peace, but a despot can*

never be at peace or trust a truce with his subjects (§ 11). For there are two kinds of war—there is that between state and state, and there is that between a despot and his subjects. Whatever ills arise from the first must be shared by despot and citizen alike (§ 12—§ 13). But a despot by his position is debarred from a share of the pleasures of a successful war (§ 14), which are very considerable (§ 15—§ 16). In the second kind of war—while suspecting every one as an enemy, he knows nevertheless that, when he has put to death the persons suspected, he has only weakened the power of the city (§ 17), and his confidence is not restored but he becomes more suspicious than before. His house is to him like a besieged camp, perpetually on the alarm against the open assaults or secret intrigues of enemies (§ 18).

§ 1 l. 2 πάνν—μικρά: see n. on l. 7. 3 τῶν δοκούντων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι: see n. to i 9 l. 49. For the emphatic use of ἀνὴρ cf. vii 3 ἀνδρες δὲ καὶ οὐκέτι ἄνθρωποι μόνον νομιζόμενοι, Cyr. v v 33 σὺ μὲν ἀνὴρ φαίνει, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἄξιός ἀρχῆς, Hellen. vii i 24 ὑπερεφίλουν τὸν Λυκομήδην καὶ μόνον ἄνδρα ἡγοῦντο, Arist. Ach. 76, Eq. 179. So in Latin *vir*: Cic. ep. ad Qu. fr. ii 11 *cum veneris, virum te putabo; si Sallustii Empedoclea legeris, hominem non putabo*. Weiske is wrong in translating τῶν δοκούντων by *illustrium, conspicuorum*. See Prof. Jebb's note on Soph. Oed. R. 1191 ed. 2. 4 ἐκόντας: G. § 138 Note 7, HA. § 619 a. μειονεκτοῦντας—σίτων: see note to i 11. For δψων Heindorf on Plato Protag. § 100 suggests δσμων, on the ground that the former is included in σίτων, and also in reference to i l. 22.

§ 2 l. 5 ἐν ἐκείνοις, 'in respect to what follows', cp. i l. 96.

7 ἐπινοεῖτε, in *animum inducitis*. πλείστα—ἔχετε, 'possess—in greatest abundance', G. § 138 Rem. 1, HA. § 618.

8 διαφέροντας ἀρετῇ 'of surpassing excellence'. Aristot. Eth. Nic. ii vi 2 ἡ τοῦ ἵππου ἀρετὴ ἵππον τε σπουδαῖον ποιεῖ καὶ ἀγαθὸν δραμεῖν καὶ ἐνεγκεῖν τὸν ἐπιβάτην καὶ μείναι τοὺς πολέμους. The root of ἀρετὴ is ἀρ- 'to fit', from which are derived ἀραρίσκω 'I suit', ἀρθρον 'a joint', ἀρτύω 'I fit together', 'prepare',

ἀριθμός 'reckoning' i.e. fitting numbers together in a series, ἀριος 'even', ἀρι 'just', 'exactly', ἀριστος, ἀρέσκω, Lat. *arma*, *armus*, *artus* 'limb', *artus* 'tight', *ars* etc. For the epanaphora διαφέροντας μὲν—διαφέροντα δέ cf. i 5, ii 15, iv 3 etc.

9 ὑπερέχοντα, *egregium*. 10 κόσμον, *mundum muliebrem*, Fr. *parure*. Cf. Oecon. ix 6 l. 36. καὶ ταύτας, *easque*, 'and those too'. We find generally καὶ ταῦτα *idque* (i 9), not so often a demonstrative agreeing with the preceding substantive; but cf. below vii 8, Anab. ii v 21 ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμυγχανῶν καὶ τοῦτων πονηρῶν, Oecon. ii 5, Herod. iii 73, 1 ἀρχόμεθα ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς Μάγου καὶ τοῦτου ὧτα οὐκ ἔχοντος. 11 κατεσκευασμένας τοῖς πλείστον ἀξίοις, 'with the most costly furniture'.

12 ἐπιστήμας ἀρίστους, 'superior in accomplishments': dative of respect, HA. § 780. With πλήθει we must supply some word like διαφέροντας from ἀρίστους. 14 ὀνήσαι, *prodesse*, G. p. 349.

§ 3 l. 17 οὐδέν τι, i 21 l. 12 note. μάλα is to be taken with δοξάζειν, and εὐδαίμονας εἶναι depends upon δοξάζειν, not upon ὁρῶν. 18 δοξάζειν ὁρῶν, 'to judge by appearances that etc.'

§ 4 l. 20 πολλοῦ ἄξια, l. 11. εἶναι, to be taken with δοκοῦντα. ἀνεπτυγμένα (*ἀναπτύσσειν*), *explicita*, 'unfolded', 'revealed', predicate participle. On the use of the infinitive (θεῖσθαι) as a sort of accusative of specification, see G. § 261, 2, HA. § 952. φανερά looks so much like a gloss on ἀνεπτυγμένα, that I have enclosed it in brackets as at least doubtful. See cr. n. 23 ἐνθαπερ i.q. ἐν αἴσπερ. 24 ἀπόκειται, *abditur*, 'is kept out of sight'.

7 § 5 l. 25 τὸ πλήθος περὶ τούτου λεληθέναι: cp. Plato legg. p. 908 c σέ δὲ λέληθε περὶ τούτου, where also the verb is used impersonally: the usual construction would be τοῦτο λεληθέναι τὸ πλήθος, 'that this is unknown to the multitude'.

26 καὶ ὑμᾶς, 'you as well as they'. 27 δοκεῖτε, 'are considered'. 28 τοῦτο: see n. to i l. 101.

§ 6 l. 31 ἐλάχιστον scil. μέρος, see G. § 170, 2 Note, and cf. l. 35.

§ 7 l. 33 αὐτίκα, 'for instance'; when the first instance that presents itself is urged. Cf. Oecon. xix 18, Cyr. i vi 9.

34 ταύτης—τοῖς πυράννοις μέτεστιν, G. § 184, 2 Note 1 (a), HA. § 734. 35 ὁ δὲ πόλεμος μέγα κακόν, scil. εἰ δοκεῖ εἶναι.

§ 8 l. 36 εὐθὺς, i.q. αὐτίκα l. 33, 'at the outset', 'to begin with'. It is followed by εἵπειτα δέ l. 43. 37 τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἐξεστίν—μηδὲν φοβουμένους: On the accusative for the dative, as in agreement with the (understood) subject of the infinitive, see G. § 136 Note 3, and cf. Oecon. i 4, Hell. iv i 35 ἐξεστὶ σοι μηδὲνα προσκινούντα—ἔην, Mem. ii vi 26 εἰ ἐξῆν τοῖς κρατίστοις συνθεμένους ἐπὶ τοὺς χεῖρους λέναι, Eur. Heracl. 693 ὥς μὴ μενοῦντα τάλλα σοι λέγειν πάρα, Plutarch Agis vi 2 συνέβαινε τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ δεσπότην ἀγομένους ἐκ δρασμοῦ, δεδιέναι τὸν Λυκούργον. 38 πόλεμον πολεμῇ: G. § 159, HA. § 715. 39 οἳτοι ἂν βούλονται, 'whithersoever they please', G. § 207, 2, HA. § 860. 40 μὴ τις—ἀποκτείνῃ: G. § 218, HA. § 887. 41 πολεμίας, scil. γῆς. γοῦν, 'at all events', serves to confirm an assertion by giving the grounds for it. 42 ὥπλισμένοι οἴονται ἀνάγκην εἶναι διάγειν: ἀνάγκην εἶναι, as is sometimes the case with δεῖν, χρῆναι etc. after οἴομαι etc., does not affect the construction of the clause; otherwise we must have had ὥπλισμένους. Cf. Dem. de fals. leg. § 260 ἡγοῦμην—αὐτὸς περιεῖναι δεῖν αὐτῶν, ib. § 337, Plat. Protag. p. 316 c πότερον μόνος οἷε δεῖν διαλέγεσθαι; 43 διαγῆν sc. τὸν βίον, vivere, actum transigere, as in i 8, iv 2, vii 10.

43 συμπεριάγεσθαι, secum una circumducere.

§ 9 l. 45 ἀλλ' οὖν: 'the clause to which ἀλλά is opposed is sometimes in the form of an hypothetical protasis; so ἀλλ' οὖν, when the consequences of the former clause are to be signified. Plat. Phaed. p. 91 b εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐστὶ τελευτήσαντι, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῦτόν γε τὸν χρόνον ἤττον ἀηδὴς ἔσομαι'. Jelf Gr. § 774 obs. 1. ἐπειδὴν ἔλθωσιν, 'after they have returned'. See G. MT. § 20 Note 1 p. 26. 48 ἴσασιν ὄντες: G. § 280, § 136 Note 4, HA. § 980, § 982.

§ 10 l. 48 ἐὰν δὲ—στρατεύωσιν,—ἐὰν—δοκῶσιν: an example of a conditional clause subordinate to a primary conditional

clause, where in some cases we should insert a copulative particle so as to make it a co-ordinate clause. Cf. Anab. III ii 31 ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, ἦν ψηφίσθησε—κολάζειν, οὕτως οἱ πολέμοι πλείστον ἐψευσμένοι ἔσονται. Such instances of a conditional clause within a conditional clause are found also in Latin, see my n. on Cic. or. p. Sestio § 45 l. 31 ed. 2. 49 εἰς τὴν πόλιν: Cobet would read ἐπὶ, which of course would be the correct classical combination, but, as Sauppe remarks, 'positi *εἰς* significatione *contra* exempla non pauca, maxime sequente hostium nomine, veluti Anab. I i 11, III ii 16, IV ii 7', to which may be added Cyr. I v 14, III ii 9 ἀλαλάξαντες ἔθεον εἰς αὐτοὺς, Anab. III ii 16 ἐτολμήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρώῳ φρονήματι ἵνα εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους. 51 ἀλλὰ is opposed to the second hypothetical protasis: see n. on l. 45. 52 νομίζουσι καθεστάναι: G. § 134, 3, HA. § 940. 53 οὐδέ, *ne—quidem*. 54 ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα, *ibi demum vel maxime*, 'there of all places most'. On the intensive καί = German *gar*, see my n. on 8 Oecon. i 19 and cp. below viii 7. 55 φυλακτέον: G. § 281, 2, HA. § 990.

§ 11 l. 56 διὰ σπονδῶν—γίγνεται πολέμου ἀνάπαυσις, 'a cessation of hostilities is brought about by means of a truce'.

58 τοὺς τυραννευομένους, 'the subjects of a despotic sovereign'. 59 ἂν—θαρήσκει, 'would confidently rely on treaties', potential optative, i l. 3, HA. § 872. Observe that the participle πιστεύσας is the virtual primary predicate, HA. § 984.

§ 12 l. 59 καὶ—μὲν δὴ, *et profecto iam*, 'and further'. The μέν (=μήν) serves to strengthen the affirmation. See on vii 11.

60 οὓς πολέμοις: l. 38. 62 τούτων τῶν πολέμων: i.e. the wars between contending free states, and those between a despotic king and the people who have been forced by him into subjection, respectively. The gen. is partitive, depending upon δσα. But some with good reason understand ὁ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι to refer to πόλεμος: in that case the genitive must be referred to it. The vulgate ὁ σὺν ταῖς πόλεσι could not possibly mean 'war between states'. I should prefer to read ὁ ὦν ταῖς πόλεσι,

and in l. 68 οἱ ὄντες ταῖς πόλεσι. ὁ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι may = *civis*, as also in l. 68, the singular being used as opposed to ὁ τύραννος. The μέν in ὅσα μὲν ἔχει χαλεπά is answered by the δέ in δ δὲ ἔχουσιν ἡδέα l. 67.

§ 13 l. 64 ἐν ὅπλοις: For ἐν in the sense of 'wearing', 'equipped with', see my n. to Cyr. II i 16. 65 ἄν τι πᾶθωσι—ἐπὶ τούτοις: Such transitions from a singular collective noun to a plural are not uncommon: cf. below iii 4, v 4, vi 14, Cyr. I ii 2 ἦν δὲ τις τούτων τι παραβαίνειν, ζημίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπανάθεσαν, Oecon. xxi 9 ὅς ἄν—οὔτοι, and see HA. § 632.

§ 14 l. 66 μέχρι τούτου, 'thus far', cf. i l. 38. μὲν δὴ is ordinarily used in dismissing one consideration and passing to another, cf. l. 92. ἴσοι sc. εἰσίν. οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι may be for *cives*: cf. l. 62, but as there, so here, it might refer to πόλεμοι, i.e. 'wars between different states'. Weiske, Add. p. 454, proposed οἱ ὄντες πόλεσι (sc. πόλεμοι). οὐκέτι, *non item*. See n. on i l. 94 p. 38.

§ 15 l. 70 οὐ ῥάδιον sc. ἐστὶ. 71 ὁσὴν μὲν—ὁσὴν δέ: see n. to l. 8. τρέψασθαι, *fugare*, 'to put to flight'. Observe that the strong aor. τραπέσθαι is never used in this sense but always in that of 'to turn and flee'. 73 γαυροῦνται, 'pride themselves, exult', a poetical word, not found elsewhere in Xen.

74 ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, which Sturz renders *sibi vindicant*, can only signify, as Cobet points out, *amissam (gloriam) recuperant*, 'they recover lost credit'—a meaning which does not very well suit the context. The ἀνά may be easily ascribed to dittography, a frequent source of error. Cf. Plat. Phaed. p. 75 E.

75 τὴν πόλιν νομίζοντες ἡύξηκέναι 'because they consider that they have enhanced (the power and glory of) their city'. The participle agrees with οἱ πολλοὶ implied in αἱ πόλεις l. 69.

§ 16 l. 76 προσποιεῖται τῆς βουλῆς μετисχηκέναι, 'professes that he has had some share in the plan', G. § 170, 2.

78 χαλεπὸν scil. ἐστὶ. εὑρεῖν ὅπου οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπιψέδονταί τι, 'to find an occasion on which they do not add some



falsehood': observe that οὐ, not μή, is used because the relative is not conditional, as in i 12 l. 64. 79 **πλέονας φάσκοντες ἀπεκτονέσθαι ἢ—ἀποθάνουσιν**, 'pretending that they have put to death more than have really been killed'.

**ἀποθανεῖν** does duty as the passive of **ἀποκτείνειν**. 80 **οὕτω**, *usque adeo*. **καλόν τι**, *pulcrum quiddam*, 'a really fine thing', i.e. something certain in that way, though perhaps indescribable. See my n. on *quidam*, Cic. *de off.* i § 95 l. 29. 81 **τὸ πολὺ νικᾶν** (G. § 258) i.q. **πολλὴν** or **μεγάλην νίκην νικᾶν**, 'to win a great and decided victory'.

Cf. Hipparch. viii 11 **τὸ γὰρ πολὺ νικᾶν οὐδενὶ πώποτε μεταμέλειαν παρέσχεν**, Cyr. viii iii 25 **ὅν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Πέρσας αὐτὸς ἤλασε καὶ ἐνίκηα πολὺ**, Thucyd. i 49, 5 **ἣ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ Κορινθιοὶ, —πολὺ ἐνίκων**.

§ 17 l. 81 **ὑποπτεύσῃ** sc. **ἀντιπράττοντάς τινας**.

82 **ἀντιπράττοντας**, see crit. app.

83 **οὐκ αἰεὶ τὴν πόλιν**, in reference to l. 75 **τὴν πόλιν νομίζοντες** **ἠύξηκέναι**, cp. xi 13. 84 **μειόνων**, *pauciorum*. **φαιδρός**, 'cheerful', a

9 favourite word of Xenophon's. 85 **μεγαλύνεται**, *effertur*,

*gloriatur*. 86 **μειοί**, *verbis elevat*, 'extenuates', Cyr. vi iii 17 **μηδὲ μείλου τὰ τῶν πολεμίων**. 87 **ἅμα πράττων**, *inter agendum*, 'while acting'.

'The adverbs ἅμα and μεταξύ, in point of signification, belong in the first instance to the leading verb, but in the Greek idiom they usually attach themselves more closely to the participle', G. § 277 Note 1 (a), HA. § 976.

88 **οὕτως**, *usque adeo*, as in l. 80.

§ 18 l. 90 **οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον**, 'not a whit the more': cf. iii 4 **οὐδὲν ἥττον**. 92 **μὲν δὲ**, 'thus then', to terminate the subject; the new subject being introduced by **δέ**, iii l. 1, see n. to l. 66.

**ἔχων διατελεῖ**: G. § 279, 1, 4 Note, HA. § 981.

93 **οἶον**: see crit. n.

## CHAPTER III

Again, friendship may be considered as one of the greatest blessings of life. But of this blessing no one has a less share than a despot, and whereas private men enjoy the pure delights of family affection, a despot's bitterest foes are often those of his own household, and, in proof of the fatal influence of despotical power on the tenderest ties of natural affection, you have only to look at the number of cases in which despots have slain their own sons or have themselves been slain by their own nearest relatives or the friends in whom they chiefly trusted.

§ 1 l. 1 **φιλίας**: The order is **καταθέσσαι δ' αὖ ὡς κοινωνοῦσιν** **οἱ τ. φιλίας**. Observe that the emphatic word is placed first. **καταθέσσαι**, *considera*, 'contemplate'. So Cyr. viii ii 18 τοὺς ἄλλους θησαυροὺς καταθεῖω καὶ λογίσαι πόσα ἐστὶ χρήματα. **ὥς**, *quo modo*. See cr. n. 2 **εἰ**, 'whether', G. § 282, 4, HA. § 1016. **μέγα ἀγαθόν** sc. **ἐστὶ**. 3 **ἡ φιλία**: G. § 141 Note 1 (b), HA. § 659.

§ 2 l. 3 **γάρ** merely serves to introduce the promised subject and is not to be translated in English. 4 **ἡδέως μὲν** — **ἡδέως δέ**: cf. i 5, ii 2, 15. 5 **παρόντα δρώσιν**: G. § 279, 2. 6 **ἃν ποὺ ἀπῆ**: G. § 219, 2, HA. § 1052. 7 **συνεπικουροῦσι**, 'help to relieve him'. 8 **τι σφαλλόμενον** scil. **αὐτόν**. See note to i 8.

§ 3 l. 8 **οὐ μὲν δὴ**, *minime vero*; cf. Cyr. i vi 9, ii ii 22, Soph. EL 103 **ἀλλ' οὐ μὲν δὴ λήξω**, Plat. Phaed. 266 **βασιλικοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες, οὐ μὲν δὴ ἐπιστήμονές γε**. 9 **λέληθεν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι**, 'the fact has not escaped the notice of cities either, that', cf. Mem. iii v 24. 10 **γούν**, 'at all events', in quoting an illustration, cf. ii 8 l. 41. 11 **νομίζουσι—νηπιονεῖ ἀποκτείναν**, 'have an established custom to put to death ('have a law that adulterers only may be slain') with impunity'. The second **νομίζουσι** means simply 'they think'. Cf. de rep. Lac. ii 4 **καὶ ἀντὶ γε τοῦ ἡματιῶς διαθρύπτεσθαι ὁ Λυκούργος ἐννόμισεν ἐνὶ ἡματιῷ δι' ἔτους προσεθίζεσθαι, νομίζων οὕτως καὶ πρὸς ψύχῃ καὶ**

πρὸς θάλλη ἀμεινον ἂν παρασκευάσασθαι, where in like manner νομίζων has a double import. 12 δῆλον ὅτι, also written

δηλονότι, 'it is clear that', 'evidently'. HA. § 1049, 1 a.

διὰ ταῦτα ὅτι, *propterea quod*. 13 λυμαντήρας: see note to vi 6. Cf. for the sentiment Iys. de caede Eratosth. § 32 f. τῶν μὲν γὰρ (μοιχῶν) ὁ νομοθέτης θάνατον κατέγνω, ἡγοούμενος αὐτοὺς οὕτω τῶν ἀλλοτρῶν γυναικῶν τὰς ψυχὰς διαφθεῖρειν, ὥστ' οἰκειότερας αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ἢ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.

§ 4 l. 15 ὅταν ἀφροδισιασθῇ—γυνή, 'whenever a wife is guilty of an act of infidelity'. κατὰ συμφορὰν τινα, 'by some (unfortunate) concurrence of circumstances'. Cp. Arist. Eq. 130 ὁδὶ προσέρχεται ὥσπερ κατὰ θεὸν εἰς ἀγορὰν, Av. 544 κατὰ δαίμονα καὶ τινα ξυντυχίαν ἀγαθὴν, Eccl. 114 κατὰ τύχην τινα, in all which quotations κατὰ with the acc. denotes the manner, and forms a periphrasis for an adverb. οὐδὲν ἥττον, 'not a whit the less'. The datives *τινί*, *οὐδενί* are never used with comparatives, whereas we have *ὀλίγω*, *πολλῷ* by the side of *ὀλίγος* and *πολύς*, HA. § 719, § 781 a. 16 αὐτάς sc. τὰς γυναῖκας, to be understood from preceding γυνή: see n. on ii 13. 17 ἀκέρατος (*ἀ, κεράννυμι*) *integra*, 'inviolat': this may be added to the list of poetical words employed by Xen.

§ 5 l. 18 τοσοῦτόν τι: see n. to ii 16. 19 αὐτόματα 'spontaneously', 'without being sought', predicate adjective = adverb. Cf. Ar. Ach. 976 αὐτόματα πάντ' ἀγαθὰ τῷδ' γε πορίζεται, Crat. IIλουτ. 6 αὐτόματα τοῖσι θεοῖς ἀνέει τὰ γαθὰ.

§ 6 l. 21 καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ κτήματος: καὶ is not to be taken with *τοίνυν* but with *τούτου*, 'this possession also'. 10 22 πάντων μάλιστα, 'more than all'; it is better to take *πάντων* as masculine and not as neuter. See my n. on Cyr. i iv 2.

§ 7 l. 25 γονεῦσι πρὸς παῖδας, 'between parents and children'. The γάρ refers to the preceding ὡδε (cf. l. 3), the μέν to a suppressed clause. See on viii. 9.

§ 8 l. 28 εὐρήσεις μὲν τοὺς ιδιώτας, for εὐρήσεις τοὺς μὲν ιδ., which is the reading of Stobaeos. 29 ὑπὸ τούτων, 'by

these relations', i.e. parents by children, and children by parents, etc. πάντων belongs to μάλιστα as in 1. 22.

30 πολλούς in partitive apposition to τυράννους: G. § 137 Note 2, HA. § 624 d. 31 ἀπεκτονότας: the form ἀπεκτονήκοντας, (from ἀποκτονεῖν), retained by Breitenbach, is justly condemned by Cobet and Veitch as unclassical. 32 αὐτούς, intensive, ἱπσος.

ἐν τυραννίσιν, 'in despotic governments'. ἀλληλοφόνους: he is probably referring to the myth of Eteoklēs and Polyneikēs. 34 ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τῶν ἐαυτῶν: The murder of Alexander of Pherae by his wife Thēbé, daughter of Jason, took place in B.C. 357, Hell. vi iv 35: the *Hieron* was probably composed about B.C. 394.

35 καί—γε, 'aye and', i 17. τῶν μάλιστα δοκούντων φίλων εἶναι, 'who were reckoned especial friends'. See n. to i l. 49.

'The third chapter of Plutarch's life of Demetrios Poliorkētēs presents a vivid description of the feelings prevalent between members of regal families in those ages. Demetrios, coming home from the chase with his hunting javelins in his hand, goes up to his father Antigonus, salutes him and sits down by his side without disarming. This is extolled as an unparalleled proof of the confidence and affection subsisting between the father and the son. In the families of all the other Diadochi (says Plutarch) murders of sons, mothers and wives were frequent—murders of brothers were even common, assumed to be precautions necessary for security. Οὕτως ἄρα πάντῃ δυσκοινοῦντο ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ μεστὸν ἀπιστίας καὶ δυσνοίας, ὥστε ἀγάλλεσθαι τὸν μέγιστον τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων καὶ πρεσβύτατον, ὅτι μὴ φοβεῖται τὸν υἱὸν ἀλλὰ προσίεται τὴν λόγχην ἔχοντα τοῦ σώματος πλησίον. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὁ οἶκος οὗτος ἐπὶ πλείστας διαδοχὰς τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ἐκαθάρευνσε, μάλλον δὲ εἰς μόνος τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιγόνου Φίλιππος ἀνέλεν υἱόν. Αἱ δὲ ἄλλα σχεδὸν ἅπασαι διαδοχαὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἔχουσι παίδων, πολλῶν δὲ μητέρων φόνους καὶ γυναικῶν' τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀδελφούς ἀναιρεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ γεωμέτραι τὰ αἰτήματα λαμβάνουσιν, οὕτω συνεχωρεῖτο κοινόν τι νομιζόμενον αἴτημα καὶ βασιλικὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας. Compare Tacitus Hist. v 8 about the family feuds of the kings of Judaea'.—GEOTE *Hist. of Greece* Vol. XII p. 6 note 3, ed. 1.

§ 1. 36 τῶν φύσει πεφυκότων φιλεῖν κτλ. *quos ipsa natura ad amandum compellit et lex cogit*, 'those who are naturally born to love and who have been constrained withal by usage'. Cf. Cyr. v i 24 βασιλεὺς ἐμοὶ γε δοκεῖς σὺ φύσει πεφυκέναι.

38 πῶς ὑπ' ἄλλου γέ τινος κτλ. 'how are we to suppose that they are loved by any one else?' The γε emphasizes ἄλλου. For οἰεσθαι χρή cp. Cyr. iv ii 28.

## CHAPTER IV

*Again, mutual confidence is another great blessing, necessary to social life and happiness, but no one partakes less of this than a despot, who can so little count upon good faith, that he must cause all his food to be tasted by others before he can eat it himself (§ 1—§ 2).*

*Moreover private persons are greatly indebted to their native cities for the protection of life and property afforded by them; but it is not so with despots; there is no such immunity from danger for them, since tyrannicides are everywhere honoured and recompensed (§ 3—§ 5).*

*A despot does not derive more enjoyment from his possessions, because they are greater than those of private men; for he measures himself by the standard of other despots whom he cannot bear to see wealthier than himself (§ 6).*

*Nor are the wishes of a despot more readily satisfied than those of a private man; the objects of his ambition being altogether of a higher kind are more difficult of attainment (§ 7).*

*There are, in fact, more really poor kings in proportion than there are poor private persons, for an abundance or sufficiency is not to be estimated by the actual amount of our possessions but by the exigencies of our station; and despots are not at liberty to retrench their expenses, as private men are. The men who are to be pitied as poor, are not those who have all their wants supplied by fair and honest means, but those who are forced to supply their necessary wants by degrading acts and acts of injustice; and such are despots, who must have recourse to robbery and extortion, oppression and sacrilege, that they may be enabled to maintain an army for the protection of their lives (§ 8—§ 11).*

§ 1 l. 1 ἀλλὰ μὲν, 'then, again'. 2 ἀδίσκτον  
μῆτις: see note to ii 6. 4 ἡδιστα sc. ἐστὶ. ἀνεπίστως  
τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, 'without mutual trust'. 7 ἀπιστοῦ-  
μενος=ἐπίστανται G. § 226, 1, HA. § 902.

§ 2 l. 7 *τούτου—τοῦ πιστῶς—ἔχειν* 'of this attitude of a trustful disposition towards others'. *καὶ τούτου* sc. *τῆς πίστεως* would have been sufficient without any exegetical clause and *τοῦ πιστῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τινὰς* does not satisfy the sense, which requires rather *τοῦ πιστοῦς πρὸς <αὐτόν> τινὰς ἔχειν* or *τοῦ πιστοῦς τινὰς εἶναι*. Hence Cobet considers the clause to have been originally a gloss; see crit. n.

9 *ὁπότε γε, quandoquidem*, 'inasmuch as'. Cf. below viii 7, Cyr. ii ii 13, viii iii 7 *μέγας σὺ γε, ὁπότε γε καὶ ἡμῖν τάξεις ἂν ἄν δέη ποιεῖν*, Anab. vii vi 11 *πάντα μὲν ἄρα ἀνθρώπων ὄντα προσδοκᾶν δεῖ, ὁπότε γε καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίας ἔχω*. οὐδέ, *ne—quidem*.

*διάγει*: cf. i 8. 10 *πρὶν ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς*, i.e. before the commencement of a feast, which began with libations to the gods. *τούτων—ἀπογεύσασθαι*, 'to take a taste of these', G. 171, 2.

11 *κελεύουσιν*, sc. *οἱ τύραννοι*, to be understood from *τυράννῳ* l. 8. See n. to ii 13.

12 *μὴ—φάγωσιν*: On *μὴ* 'lest' in sentences denoting 'precaution', 'suspicion', see G. § 218, HA. § 887. For the sentiment cp. Aesch. c. Timarch. § 5 *τὰ μὲν τῶν δημοκρατουμένων σώματα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν οἱ νόμοι σώζουσι, τὰ δὲ τῶν τυράννων καὶ τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν ἀπιστία καὶ ἡ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων φρουρά*.

§ 3 l. 13 *αἱ πατρίδες* 'their native states'. *τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις*, answered by *τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις* l. 22. For the dative cp.

11 Aristoph. Ach. 8 *ἄξιον γὰρ Ἑλλάδι*. 14 *ἄξια*, sc. *εἰσί*.

15 *δορυφοροῦσιν ἀλλήλους—ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους*, 'act as a bodyguard to each other against their slaves'. Cf. Thuc. i 130, Herod. ii 168, vii 127: the verb is used with the dative in Cyr. vii v 84, Polyb. xxxii xxiii.

17 *ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα—ἀποθνήσκειν*, 'in order that none of their fellow-citizens may perish by a violent death'. For this sense of *ὑπὲρ* 'with a view to' cp. Isocr. Areopag. § 64 *ὁτιοῦν πάσχειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον*, Panath. § 80 *πολεμεῖν—ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάσχειν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων*.

§ 4 l. 18 *οὕτω πόρρω προελθύθασι φυλακῆς*, *eo providentiae progressi sunt*, 'they have gone so far in precaution'. This is a partitive genitive with an adverb of place, denoting a point in and of the whole, cp. Plat. Gorg. p. 484 c

πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας, 'far advanced in years', ib. 486 ἂ τοὺς πόρρω σοφίας ἐλαύνοντας. It is to be distinguished from πόρρω 'far from', G. § 182, 2, HA. § 757. 19 τῷ μαιφόνῳ — τὸν συνόντα, G. § 187. By transposition of τῷ μαιφόνῳ from its proper place between τὸν and συνόντα additional emphasis is thrown upon the word. 20 διὰ τὰς πατρίδας, 'by means of their (respective) native states'.

§ 5 l. 22 καὶ τοῦτο ἔμπαλιν ἀνέστραπται, 'this again has been reversed', 'in this case also it is quite the reverse'. Cf. Cyr. viii viii 13 καὶ ὅτι γε οἱ παῖδες...ἐδόκουν μανθάνειν δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τοῦτο παντάπασιν ἀνέστραπται h.e. *contrarium accidit*. 23 ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν αὐτοῖς, sc. τοῖς τυράννοισι, 'instead of avenging them'; see n. to i 12 l. 68. 24 τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν τύραννον 'the tyrannicide', G. § 276, 2, HA. § 966. 25 καί—γε, 'aye and', cf. iii l. 35. ἐργεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν: cf. Soph. Oed. T. 236 ff. 26 ἀντὶ τούτου, see n. to i 17 l. 101. 27 εἰκόνας: Xen. is doubtless thinking of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the murderers of Hipparchos. 28 τῶν τοιοῦτό τι ποιησάντων sc. τῶν ἀποκτείναντων τὸν τύραννον: ποιεῖν with τοῦτο or ταῦτα is often used vicariously for other verbs to spare the repetition of them, like Latin *id facere*; see my n. on Cic. de off. i 4.

§ 6 l. 28 ὃ δὲ σὺ οἶας] see crit. not. 29 ἔχων, 'because he possesses', G. § 277, 2. The addition of διὰ τοῦτο more exactly denotes the relation of the participle to the principal action. Cf. Anab. i vii 3 νομίζων κρείττους πολλῶν βαρβάρων ὑμᾶς εἶναι διὰ τοῦτο προσελαβον, where διὰ τοῦτο similarly takes up νομίζων, vii i 9 ἐπισιτισμοῦ δεόμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες διὰ τοῦτο ἀθυμοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον. 30 πλεῖω ἀπ' αὐτῶν (scil. τῶν κτημάτων) εὐφραίνεται, 'receives more enjoyment from them'. οὐδὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, 'this is not so either', i.e. this is not true any more than the other supposition. 31 ὥσπερ οἱ ἀθληταί—τοῦτ' αὐτοῦς εὐφραίνει: an irregular sentence which should have run thus: οἱ ἀθληταί, οὐχ ὅταν—κρίττοντες, τοῦτ' εὐφραίνονται. For this not uncommon anakoluthon of a period beginning with the nominative and passing afterwards

over to another case comp. Oecon. i 14 οἱ δὲ φίλοι, ἣν τις ἐπίσσηται αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι, ... τί φήσομεν αὐτοὺς εἶναι;  
 32 ἰδιωτῶν, 'those who are not athletes'. Ἰδιώτης is a negative term, the exact import of which depends upon the context. Like the English word 'layman', it means 'an unprofessional man', 'amateur'. Here it is opposed to an 'athlete', as in Mem. iii vii 7 τῶν ἀσκητῶν ('trained athletes') ὅντα κρείσσω τοὺς ἰδιώτας φοβεῖσθαι, Hipp. viii 1 ὥστε αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀσκητὰς φαίνεσθαι τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐν ἱππικῇ ἔργων, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἰδιώτας; elsewhere to a physician as in Thuc. ii 48, 2 καὶ ἱατρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτης; to a seer as in Anab. vi i 31 οἱ θεοὶ οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐσήμηναν, ὥστε καὶ ἰδιώτην ἀν γνῶναι: to a poet, Plat. Symp. p. 178 ὑπ' οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἰδιώτου οὔτε ποιητοῦ; to a musician, Plat. Protag. p. 327 c ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ μηδὲν ἀλλήσεως ἐπαίοντας; to a craftsman, Plat. Theag. p. 124 c τῶν τε δημιουργῶν καὶ ἰδιωτῶν; to a rhetor, Aesch. c. Timarch. § 2 οὐ μόνον περὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ῥητόρων. Cf. Oecon. iii 9 ἰδιώτης τούτου τοῦ ἔργου (rei equestriae), Cic. or. p. Sest. 51, 110. 32 κρείττονες—ἥτιους; note the occurrence of the two different forms in close proximity.

35 ὅταν—φαίνεται ἔχων, 'whenever he is seen to possess' i.e. 'manifestly possesses'; ὅταν φαίνεται ἔχειν would mean 'whenever he seems to possess' ('though he may not really possess'). 37 τούτῳ scil. τῷ ἔχειν ἐλάττω. 38 ἀνταγωνιστάς, predicate accusative, G. § 166, HA. § 674.

- § 7 l. 39 οὐδέ γε, 'no, nor yet'. Cf. above l. 25. τι—ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ, i.e. τι—τούτων ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ according to Breitenbach, but I prefer taking τι with θάπτον (cf. i 2), and understanding ταῦτα as the subject of γίγνεται. 41 οὐκίας ἢ ἀγροῦ ἐπιθυμεῖ, 'covets (no more than) a house or a field'.  
 12 44 χαλεπώτερα—κατεργάσασθαι, 'more difficult and hazardous of accomplishment', G. § 261, 2, HA. § 952 a. 45 ἐπιθυμημάτων, 'objects of desire', i 23.

§ 8 l. 45 ἀλλὰ μέντοι καί: ἀλλὰ μέντοι generally signifies that, although from what has gone before, it might not be expected, yet such or such a thing is so; but it is also used where there is no such contradiction between the



sentences. 46 πένητας, 'poor' )( πλουσίους. Cf. Mem. iv ii 37 τοὺς μὲν, οἶμαι, μὴ ἱκανὰ ἔχοντας εἰς δὲ τελεῖν πένητας, τοὺς δὲ πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν πλουσίους. The meaning is 'you will see not so much a few private persons poor, as many despots so', you will find but few that are really poor amongst private persons, in comparison with those (who may be called so) amongst despots; but it is, at best, an awkwardly constructed sentence. See crit. n. Weiske (Add. p. 454) takes the meaning to be: *Non tanta paucitas est pauperum inter privatos, quanta multitudo inter tyrannos*, h. l. *illorum paucitas minus mirabilis est quam horum multitudo*. 47 τῷ ἀριθμῷ: the dative of the standard according to which anything is measured, judged of, or done. Cf. Herod. vii 237 τοῖσι λεγομένοισι σταθμώμενος, Dem. p. 113, 10 εἶπερ οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πεποίηκε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. For the sentiment and line of argument, cf. Anab. vii vii 36 οὐ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ἐστὼν ὁ ὀρίζων τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ ὀλίγον, Oec. ii 2 ff. 48 τὰ πολλὰ—τὰ ἱκανά, 'an abundance'—'a sufficiency', i.e. what comes up to the right quantity, from the root *fix* whence come *vicus* 'the place where people come and go', *οἶκος* 'house', *villa*=*vicula*, 'country-house', *vicinus*, English 'wick' etc. πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις, 'according to the exigencies' of our station, 'in reference to the uses made of them'. 49 ὥστε τὰ μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα κτλ., 'consequently (i 7) whatever exceeds a sufficiency is much, while that which falls short of a sufficiency is little'. Cp. The Spectator No. 574.

§ 9 l. 51 τῷ οὖν τυράννῳ τὰ πολλαπλάσια—οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, 'much more ample revenues are not as sufficient to the despot for his necessary disbursements as to a private person; for private persons may curtail their daily expenses in what way they please, but for despots it is not possible to do so'.

53 τὰς δαπάνας—εἰς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν] cf. note on x 8.

56 τῆς ψυχῆς, 'their life': cf. vii 12. 58 εὐθεὺς δοκεῖ εἶναι, *mortis instar videtur*. Cf. Cic. de off. ii § 69 *clientes appellari mortis instar putant*, or. p. C. Sest. 54, 115 *ei plausum immortalitatem, sibi mortem videri necesse est*, or. p. L. Flacco 8, 19 *quibus odio sunt nostrae securae, portorium morti*.

§ 10 l. 59 ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου, 'by just means'. So. ἐκ

τοῦ δικαίου Arist. Av. 1485, Thuc. II 89, Xen. Hell. VI v 16.

τί δὲν οἰκτείροι τις; potential optative, G. § 226, 2 (b), HA. § 872. ἔχειν ὄσων δέονται i.e. τοσαῦτα ὄσων δέονται.

61 μηχανώμενοι ζῆν, 'to live by contriving', 'to plot in order to live'; the participle contains the leading idea of the expression, as in i 74 λαβόντες ἀπιέναι, ii 11 πιστεύσας θαρσύνει. For the allusion see Introduction p. xxxix.

§ 11 l. 64 πλείστα, *plerumque* 'very often'. 65 διὰ τὸ —προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων, 'because they require additional supplies'. 67 ἢ ἀπολωλάναι, 'or else to forfeit their lives': ἢ=εἰ δὲ μή i.e. 'if they do not keep an army': cp. Oecon. II 5 (προσθήκει σοι) πολίτας δειπνίζειν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν ἢ ἔρημον συμμάχων εἶναι, Thuc. II 63, 1, Eur. Electr. 307 f. αὕτη μὲν ἐκμοχθούσα κερκίσω πέπλους | ἢ γυμνὸν ἔξω σῶμα καὶ στερήσομαι, Jebb *Selections from Attic Orators* p. 216 § 27 with note ed. 1.

## CHAPTER V

*Another hardship for despotic sovereigns is that, their power being founded on injustice, the destruction of the best and most estimable citizens must be their ruling policy and none but the worst are left to serve them (§ 1—§ 2).*

*Again even a despot must be patriotic, as he cannot be safe or happy independently of the state, and yet he is compelled to cast a slur upon it by discouraging warlike habits and tastes in his countrymen, and employing mercenary foreign soldiers for the protection of his person (§ 3).*

*Moreover he does not rejoice with his people when there is a full harvest and abundance of provisions, because it is his interest rather to keep his people in indigence, that they may be more submissive; for he is most afraid of a rebellion among them when they are most prosperous (§ 4).*

§ 1 l. 2 μὲν—84, 'although—yet'. γὰρ: see n. to iii 2. 3 κοσμίους, *modestos*, 'law-abiding'. Cf. Arist. Pl. 89 τοὺς δικαίους καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ κοσμίους. The same class are referred to in l. 5 as ἀνδρείους; hence Cobet prefers ἀλκιμούς the

reading in Stobaeos. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγασθαι, 'instead of admiring'. On the limitations to the use of the articular infinitive with prepositions see my n. on Oecon. xiii 6. 5 τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρείους—τοὺς δὲ σοφούς are in partitive apposition to 13 τούτους: cf. iii 8. 8 προστατεῖσθαι, *regi*, 'to be governed'.

§ 2 l. 8 ὅταν—ὑπεξαιρῶνται, 'whenever they exclude, except, such characters because of the fear they have of them'.

10 χρῆσθαι 'for use', the infinitive (as an indirect object) denoting the intent of the action: G. § 265, HA. § 951. ἀλλ' ἢ, *nisi*, 'except', only used after a negative or quasi-negative in the main construction. See my n. on Oecon. ii 13. By the ἀλλά the exception to the negative (or interrogative) which has preceded is stated flatly; the ἢ allows the negative statement to revive, subject to this exception alone. Riddell, *Digest of Platonic idioms* § 148 g, p. 175.

11 ἀκρατεῖς, 'wanting in self-control' )( σοφοί = σώφρονες. Cp. Mem. iii ix 4 σοφίαν δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην οὐ διώριζεν.

12 φοβοῦνται τὰς πόλεις μήποτε κτλ., for φοβοῦνται μήποτε αἱ πόλεις κτλ., the subject of the accessory sentence being anticipated as the object of the principal clause: so Xen. Hell. vi iv 32 εἰδισαν—τὸν Ἰάσονα μὴ τύραννος γένοιτο.

14 ἐγκρατεῖς αὐτῶν, *eorum compotes*, 'masters of them' scil. τῶν ἀδίκων, the personal pronoun serving as indirect reflexive: see HA. § 684 a. τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἐξουσίας ἔνεκα,

'for the sake of license for the moment', i.e. they are satisfied with any government under which they can enjoy a certain amount of license and indulgence. 15 ἀνδραποδώδες, *servili ingenio praediti*, 'slavish' opposed to ἐλευθέριοι (Arist. Eth. Nic. iv viii 5). 16 οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἀξιούσιν, *ne ipsi quidem volunt*, 'they are not either themselves desirous'.

§ 3 l. 21 σῶζεσθαι 'to do well, prosper'. Cf. de rep. Lac. 9, 2 ἐκραι τῇ ἀρετῇ σῶζεσθαι εἰς τὸν πλείω χρόνον, Plutarch de disc. ad. ab am. 74 c with Wyttenbach's note, Plato legg. ix p. 662 F ἐν ἀνθρώποις μέλλουσιν σῶζεσθαι καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν. οὗτ' ἂν εὐδαιμονεῖν scil. δύνατο. 22 ταῖς ἑαυτῶν: for the transition from singular to plural cf. ii 13, iii 4.

23 ἐγκαλεῖν, 'to blame, cast a slur upon'. τοὺς τυράννους is understood after ἀναγκάζε. Cf. Cyr. vii ii 22 οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλουν ταῖς τύχαις. Sturz in v. observes that this passage requires the sense *spernere* or *odisse* or *timere* rather than *conqueri*.

οὐτὲ ἀλκίμους χαίρουσι παρασκευάζοντες, 'they take no pleasure in rendering them either brave or etc.' Cf. Oecon. v 15 τοὺς ἐργαστήρας προθύμους παρασκευάζειν, Mem. iii iv 8 τοὺς ἀρχομένους κατηκόους παρασκευάζειν εὐπειθεῖς τε ἑαυτοῖς.

26 τοῖτοισι χρῶνται δορυφόροις, 'make use of these as a body-guard'. Mark the difference between this and τοῖτοισι χρῶνται τοῖς δορυφόροις. The apposition of a predicate noun, that may be resolved by 'as', is rarely found with the objects of a verb which are not in the accusative, except with χρῆσθαι (dative) and τυγχάνειν (genitive) as Anab. v v 15 ἐρωτᾶτε τοὺς Τραπεζυντιοὺς, ὅποῖων τινῶν ἡμῶν ἔτυχον, 'what sort of people they found us'.

§ 4 l. 27 ἂν for ἑάν=ei ἂν, G. § 219, 2. εὐετηρίων, (εἰ, ἔτος, annus) 'good seasons' (for the produce of the earth). 28 οὐδὲ τότε, *ne tunc quidem*. συγχαίρει, sc. τοῖς πολιταῖς. 29 ἐνδεστέροις...ταπεινότεροις, *quo egentioribus—eo summissioribus*, 'the more needy—the more submissive', 'submissive in proportion to their indigence'. Cf. i 20 l. 118. 30 ὁλονται χρῆσθαι, 'they expect to find them'. For the transition from the singular to plural cf. above l. 23.

## CHAPTER VI

*Hieron then proceeds to describe the pleasures which he enjoyed, as a private man, but from which he is altogether debarred as a despot, with the anxieties to which he is subject in his present position. 'I used' he says 'to converse familiarly with and to take pleasure in the society of my equals in age and they in mine: I could do as I pleased, enjoy occasional solitude or forget the chagrins of life in convivial mirth, and give myself up to the delights of music and the dance. But now I have no familiar friends to delight in my society, none but slaves for my companions, and I have myself lost all pleasure in the society of*

*my former companions, because I see no sympathy in them towards me. I have to guard against excess in drink and sleep, as against insidious foes (§ 1—§ 3). I am in continual alarm whether in a crowd or in solitude, I am in fear without guards, and am afraid of the guards themselves. What a wretched state of existence is this! To place greater confidence in strangers than in one's own fellow-citizens, in Barbarians than in Greeks, to be compelled to treat freemen as slaves and slaves as freemen, is a sign of a mind deranged by fear. This passion of fear not only produces constant uneasiness but poisons life and mars all its enjoyment. Despots are even worse off than commanders who have to face the enemy, for they fancy that they see enemies not only in front of them but surrounding them on all sides and at all times (§ 4—§ 8).*

*Simonides replies: 'War is undoubtedly subject to continual alarms, but when we are in the field, we first post our sentinels, and then we can eat and sleep in security' (§ 9).*

*'No doubt' says Hiero, 'for the guards do their duty through fear of the laws; but despots have only mercenaries for their guards, whom they pay as they do their harvest labourers, and though the principal duty of guards is to be faithful to their trust, yet, for one faithful guard, you will find hundreds of faithful workmen in any branch of business; especially when these guards enlist themselves for the sake of the stipend; and have it in their power to gain a much larger sum in a short time by assassinating their master, than they would receive from him for many years' faithful attendance' (§ 10—§ 12).*

*'As to despots being better able to serve their friends and suppress their enemies—this is also a mistaken notion. For how can you think to serve friends when you know that he who is under the greatest obligation to you will be the most delighted to withdraw himself from your sight and to avoid further intercourse with you? for no one considers what he has received from a despot as his own, until he has escaped from his power. Then as for his enemies, he knows that all men are his enemies who are subject to his power; and, if he could get rid of them all by killing or imprisoning them, whom would he have left to govern? So that he must be on his*

guard against them, and yet at the same time make use of their services. Those of his subjects whom he dreads he cannot bear to see alive, and yet it is a sore trial to him to put them to death. There are also many other possessions which, though useful, are sources of trouble to their possessors, and yet they cannot lose them without regret' (§ 13—§ 16).

§ 1 l. 1 *κἀκείνας* by crasis for *καὶ ἐκείνας*. 2 *εὐ-φροσύνας*, see n. to vii 4. 3 *ὅσαις ἐγὼ χρώμενος—στερόμενος αὐτῶν*, quibus ego usus, dum eram privatus, nunc, postquam tyrannidem adeptus sum, eis privatum me video. The force of the imperfect participle *χρώμενος* will be perceived if we substitute the finite verb for it: the sentence will then run *ὅσαις ἐγὼ ἐχρώμην μὲν, ὅτ' ἦν ἰδιώτης, νῦν δέ—ἀσθάνομαι στερόμενος αὐτῶν*. See for continuation of relative clause by demonstrative HA. § 1005, G. § 156. 3 *ἐπειδὴ ἐγενόμην*, 'ever since I first became', ingressive aorist, see G. § 200 Note 5 (b), HA. § 841 and cf. Cyr. i 4 l. 57 with my note.

§ 2 l. 4 *συνὴν μὲν—συνὴν δέ*, an epanaphora, cf. i 5.

5 *συνὴν ἑμαντῶ*, 'I was my own companion', 'was left to my own companionship'. 6 *ὁπότε—ἐπιθυμήσαιμι*, G. § 225, § 233. 7 *μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι*, see note to v 5. 8 *εἴ τι*, *siquid, quidquid*, xi 10. 9 *μέχρι τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν συγκαταμιγνύναι*, 'even to the point of completely mingling up my soul with, becoming absorbed in'. 11 *κοινῆς εὐθυμίας*, 'general merriment'. The ms reading is *μέχρι ἐπιθυμίας*, which Erasmus renders *usque ad communem satietatem*. The reading of the text, suggested by Weiske, is accepted by Cobet. Cf. Cyr. iv v 7 *οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι καὶ εὐωχοῦντο καὶ ἐπινον καὶ ἠυλοῦντο καὶ πάσης εὐθυμίας ἐνεπίπλαντο*, i 13 *περὶ εὐθυμίας ἐτύγχανεν ὧν*.

§ 3 l. 13 *δούλους*, predicate-noun, HA. § 618. 15 *ἐνοραῖν* scil. *αὐτοῖς*, 'see in them'. *ἐμοί* is the dative after *εὐνοϊαν*, G. § 185, HA. § 765 a. Cf. Cyr. i iv 17 with my note. 16 *ὁμοίως ἐνέδρα*: cf. Ages. xi 5 *τοὺς κρυψινόους ὥσπερ ἐνέδρας ἐφυλάττετο*.

§ 4 l. 18 ἀφύλαξίαν, 'absence of guards', Oecon. iv 10. αὐτούς, *ipse*. 20 περὶ αὐτόν, 'about oneself', the subject of the previous infinitives being indefinite. 21 ἀργαλέον πρᾶγμα, 'a painful business', Arist. Plut. 1, Thesm. 788, Lys. 764. A poetical word akin to δῆλος.

§ 5 l. 22 βαρβάρους: this term included all that were not Hellenes or did not speak their language (Anab. ii i 7, rep. Athen. ii vii 11, especially the Medes and Persians (Cyr. vi iv 9, viii viii 3, Anab. i v 16). 25 ποιεῖν θλευθέρους, G. § 166. 26 καταπεπληγμένης, 'that has been cowed'. Cobet prefers παραπεπληγμένης 'deranged', the reading in Stobaeos, but cf. Cyrop. iii i 25 πάντων τῶν δεινῶν ὁ φόβος μάλιστα καταπλήττει τὰς ψυχὰς.

§ 6 l. 27 αὐτός, *ipse*. ἐνὼν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, G. § 187, HA. § 775. 29 συμπαρομαρτῶν λυμαντήρ: see crit. n. The word λυμαντήρ is un-Attic; it occurs in ch. iii 3. See Greek Index s. v. for words with a similar termination used by Xen.

§ 7 l. 30 πολεμικῶν, *rerum bellicarum*, 'of warfare'. 31 ἤδη ποτέ, 'at any time ere now'. 32 ποῖόν τινα, HA. § 702 a; cf. Cyr. ii ii 10 οὐκ οἶδα ποίους τινὰς χρὴ μάλλον εὐξασθαι ἢ τοιοῦτους στρατιώτας ἔχειν. στίον ἥρου, *cibum tibi sumpsisti*, cf. Cyr. viii i 38 οὐτε αὐτός ποτε πρὶν ἰδρῶσαι δεῖπνον ἤρείτο. 33 ὕπνον ἐκοιμῶ, G. § 159, HA. § 715 b.

§ 8 l. 34 τοιαῦτ' αἰεὶ ἐστὶ. The common reading is τοιαῦτ' αἰεὶ, in which Cobet traces the reading which I have adopted: the opposition between τότε and αἰεὶ seems to be required by the context. 35 καί, *atque adeo*, 'and indeed', 'or rather'.

ἐξ ἐναντίας sc. ὁδοῦ, i. q. ἐναντίον, *ex adverso*, 'from an opposite direction, facing' )( ἐκ πλαγίου. Cf. Cyr. vii i 20 περὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμῶν μελήσει, Thuc. iv 35, 2 προσιόντες 15 ἐξ ἐναντίας, vii 44, 4. 36 ὁρᾶν νομίζουσιν, 'they imagine that they see', G. § 134, 3, HA. § 940.

§ 9 l. 38 ὑπολαβών, 'taking up the discourse', 'in answer'. ὑπέρευ, *egregie*, 'extremely well'. The word occurs in Dem. de coron. p. 228, 17 § 10 and in Plato Theaet. p. 185 d.

39 πόλεμος φοβερόν: For a similar use of a neuter predicate adjective see Eur. Suppl. 508 σφαλερόν ἡγεμῶν θρασύς, Herc. F. 1292 αἱ μεταβολαὶ λυπηρόν, Hipp. 109 τερπνὸν ἐκ κυναγίας τράπεζα πλήρης, Xen. r. eq. vi 13 ἀπρονόητον ἡ ὀργή, Oec. viii 4 στρατιὰ ταραχὴ δέστατον, Arist. Plut. 203 δειλότατόν ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦτος, in all which passages observe that ἐστί is omitted. 40 μέν—ἀλλά 'it is true—but'. Both ἀλλά and μέντοι frequently take the place of δέ as correlatives to μέν, especially where a stronger opposition is to be marked, cf. ii 2. 42 ὕπνου λαγχάνομεν, the usual expression in Attic Greek: cf. Cyr. iii i 24 οὗτοι μέν οὔτε σίτου οὐθ' ὕπνου δύνανται λαγχάνειν διὰ τὸν φόβον, Anab. iii i 11 μικρόν δέ ὕπνου λαχὼν εἶδεν ὄναρ, Arist. Ach. 713 οὐκ ἔαθ' ὕπνου λαχεῖν, where however τυχεῖν is commonly read. See crit. n.

§ 10 l. 43 ναὶ μὰ Δία, i 13. 44 αὐτῶν—προφύλαττονσιν, *pro eis* (scil. custodibus) *excubias agunt* i.e., as Portus explains it, 'metu legum excubitores suum officium faciunt'. Cf. x 6. περὶ ἑαυτῶν, 'for themselves', 'on their own account', i.e. lest they should be punished for negligence; ὑπὲρ ὕμῶν 'in your interest', lest harm should happen to you.

46 μισθοῦ, gen. of value, G. § 178, HA. § 746. Cf. Ages. iv 4 εἰ ἐπώλει τὰς χάριτας ἡ μισθοῦ εὐεργέτει, Cyr. iii iii 3, Mem. v viii 2 μισθοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐργάζεσθαι. θειριστάς, 'labourers in the harvest', 'qui plus danti facile se addiunt' (Breitenbach).

§ 11 l. 47 οὕτω—ὡς, *tantopere—quantopere*. χαλεπέτερον sc. ἐστί. 49 ὅποσον βούλει ἔργου, 'of any sort of trade you will', by attraction and assimilation for ἔργου ὅποσον βούλει, G. § 154 Note, HA. § 995 a. 50 ἄλλως τε καί, 'both in other respects and', 'especially'. 52 ἀποκτείνανσι, G. § 277, 2, HA. § 969 a.

§ 12 l. 54 δ' ἡγήσας ἡμᾶς, 'as to your congratulations, felicitations of us'. Cf. iv 6, Oecon. xv 6 δ' εἰπας ὡς δεῖ μαθεῖν—ταῦτα κτλ., where in like manner ταῦτα refers to the single statement introduced by the words δ' εἰπας, Hell. ii iii



45 δ δ' αὖ εἶπεν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰμι οἷος αἰεὶ ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. Compare the use of the Latin *quod* 'as to the circumstance that', on which see Madvig Lat. Gr. § 398 b Obs. 2, cf. iii 3. 56 πάντων μάλιστα: see note on iii 6. οὐδὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, 'this is not the case either'. Cf. iv 6.

§ 13 l. 57 πῶς ἂν νομίσεις: see note on i l. 3. 59 ἥδιστ' ἂν—ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σου γένοιτο, 'would be most glad to get out of your sight'. Cf. Herod. v 106, 7 ἐμεῦ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σφίς γενομένου, Dion Cass. lx 34 ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῷ ἐπιτήδης ὑπ' ἐκείνης τὰ πολλὰ γιγνόμενον, Alciphron Epist. 3, 20, 3 (writing about a conjuror) ἀνελόμενος (τὰ λιθίδια) ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπολεῖ. 61 αὐτοῦ νομίζει, 'considers as belonging to himself', predicate-genitive referring to the object of the sentence, HA. § 782 b. Cp. Ages. i 33 εἰ τινες τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐαυτῶν ποιοῦνται. πρὶν ἂν—γένηται. When πρὶν is used with a finite mood (indic. subj. or opt.), it=our 'until' in negative or quasi-negative sentences, HA. § 924 a. A few exceptions and irregularities are noticed by Shilleto in a critical note on Dem. *de fals. leg.* § 235. See also Kühner § 568. 62 ἔξω τῆς τούτου ἐπικρατείας, 'out of his dominion' or 'beyond his jurisdiction'.

Cf. Anab. vii vi 42 ἄπιμεν ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας, v iv 4 κρήνη ... ὑπὸ τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ τοῦ χωρίου i.e. *huius loci ditioni subiectus* i.e. *intra huius loci fines situs*, Cyr. v iv 28 τὰς νομὰς τῶν κτηνῶν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐκέλευσε καταθέσθαι, εἰ βούλονται, ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐπικρατείᾳ, v 24 τὰ σὰ χωρία τὰ πρότερον εἰς τὴν Σύρων ἐπικράτειαν συγκαταρρύνετα.

§ 14 l. 63 The order is πῶς δ' αὖ ἂν φαίης ἐξεῖναι (*licere*) μάλιστα τοῖς τυράννοις χειροῦσθαι ἐχθροῦς; the emphatic word ἐχθροῦς occupying the first place. 65 τυραννοῦμενοι: 16 ii 11. κατακαίνειν, 'to kill outright', see crit. n. 66 δεσμεύειν: see crit. n. τίνων ἔτι ἄρξει; sc. ὁ τύραννος, 'whom will he have left to rule?' Such transitions from plural to singular and *vice versa* are common in Greek: cf. iii 4, iv 2, vii 3. 68 δέη: supply *δταν* from l. 64. καὶ χρῆσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς, 'and (δέ) to use them also' (*καί*). Observe that *καί*—*δέ* takes the place of *ἅμα δέ*, the normal correlative of *ἅμα μέν*. So Cyr. i iv 3 we have *ἅμα μέν* followed by *ἔτι δέ καί*.

§ 15 l. 70 οὗς τῶν πολιτῶν δεδίασι for τούτους των πολιτῶν οὗς δεδίασι, G. § 168, HA. § 73. χαλεπῶς, *aege*, 'with reluctance'. 71 αὐτούς: see n. to i l. 96. ζώντας ὀρώσι: see G. § 279, 2 and cf. iv 8 l. 46. 72 ἵππος: for a similar anacoluthon cf. iv 6 with note. 73 φοβερός—μή—ποιήσῃ, the personal construction instead of the impersonal, as in δῆλος, δίκαιός εἰμι etc., HA. § 944 a, G. § 280 Note 1. Cf. Anab. v vii 2 φοβεροὶ ἦσαν μή ποιήσειαν for φοβερόν ἦν μή ποιήσειαν, Herod. i 155 οὐδὲν δεινοὶ τοι ἔσονται μή ἀποστέωσι for οὐδὲν δεινόν τοι ἔσται, μή ἐκείνοι ἀποστέωσι. 74 ἀποκτείναι: an un-Attic form for ἀποκτείνει. See Rutherford's *New Phrynichus* p. 433 ff. ἀρετήν, 'good qualities'. 75 χροῖτο: 3d pers. sing. opt. pr. from χρῆσθαι contr. from χράοιτο. The ἄν must of course be repeated with this verb.

§ 16 l. 76 καί—γε, 'aye and', i 17, 22. 78 ὁμοίως ἅπαντα, *itidem omnia*, 'all alike'. λυπεῖ μὲν—λυπεῖ δέ, see n. to i 5. τοὺς κεκτημένους, 'their possessors'. λυπεῖ ἀπαλλαττομένους, 'it vexes them to part with them'. Observe the difference in the meaning of the participle when used with and without the article. In the latter case we should translate by the infinitive: see my note to Oecon. iv i l. 4 and cp. Cyr. ii i 3 οὐκ ἄν σε ἀκούσαντα εὐφράνειεν. Cobet's alteration into ἀπαλλαττόμενα is quite unnecessary.

## CHAPTER VII

*Simonides rejoins:—* 'Honour and a brilliant position must be things of inestimable value, if they are worth purchasing at the price which you describe. The desire of honour indeed is the distinguishing characteristic of man from other animals, and those in whom it is most conspicuous are usually the furthest removed from mere brutes. It is no wonder that you submit to all the inconveniences attending royalty, when you are so much more honoured than other men. For nothing brings a man so near the gods, as the feeling of being honoured' (§ 1—§ 4).

'True' answers Hieron, 'but the marks of honour paid to despots by those who stand in fear of them are not considered as such, they are mere acts of servility. True honour springs from an opposite sentiment to that of fear; it must emanate from the spontaneous voice of freemen. 'To live upon men's tongues and be their talk', and at the same time to hold a position in their hearts as doers of good, to be the object of devotion and reverence and yet not of fear—this is real honour. But a despot enjoys no such satisfaction. He lives in a constant state of suspense and anxiety, like a criminal under sentence of death by every one' (§ 5—§ 10).

'Why then' says Simonides 'do you not abdicate? How happens it that no despot has ever yet shown a disposition to abdicate?' (§ 11).

Hieron answers: 'The impossibility of laying down his power is one of the greatest hardships to which a despot is subjected. He cannot endure his present condition, but he cannot retire from it with safety, even if he would, because of the number of persons whom he has been obliged to make his enemies. The best thing he can do is to hang himself' (§ 12—§ 13).

§ 11. 1 ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν: G. § 171, 2 Note 1, HA. § 742 c.

2 μέγα τι: see n. to ii 16. 3 ἧς ὀρεγόμενοι, 'in their efforts to attain which', ix 5, G. § 171, 1. ὀρέγεσθαι is properly 'to stretch forth one's hand', and with gen. 'to reach at', hence metaph. 'to reach after, aim at, desire'. πάντα—μὲν—πάντα δέ: see n. to i 5. ὑποδύονται, *subeunt*, 'undergo'.

§ 21. 5 τοσαῦτα πράγματα ἐχούσης, 'although it involves so much trouble', G. § 277, 5, HA. § 969 c: cf. Cyr. viii ii 21 τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα πράγματα ἔχουσιν; the usual import of the phrase πράγματα ἔχειν is 'to have trouble about a thing'. 6 προπετῶς φέρεσθε, 'rush headlong'. 7 ὅπως—ὑπερπῶσιν ὑμῖν—πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα, 'in order that they may do all that is enjoined them in your service'; the neuter adjective in lieu of kindred noun, G. § 159 Note 2, HA. § 716 b. Cf. i 8, Cyr. vi ii 2 κἂν ταῦτά μοι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσητε, 37 δ' ἐπίστανται τῷ βουλομένῳ μισθοῦ ὑπηρε-

τοῦντες. 8 ἀπροφασίστως, *sine excusatione, prompte*, 'unhesitatingly'. Cf. Cyr. II iii 8, VIII i 29 τοὺς ἀπροφασίστως πειθόμενους τιμῶν. 9 περιβλέπωσι, *suspiciant*, 'may look up to you with respect'. Hence περίβλεπτος, 'admired of all', xi 9. ὑπανιστῶνται ἀπὸ τῶν θάκων: In Herod. (II 80) we find οἱ νεώτεροι τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροις συντυγχάνοντες εἰκονσι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐπιούσι ἐξ ἑδρῆς ὑπανιστέαται. The usual phrase is ὑπανίστασθαι τῶν θάκων, τῆς ἑδρας, 'to rise from one's seat', as a mark of respect to another. So below I. 32, I. 44, Symp. iv 31 ὑπανίστανται μοι θάκων καὶ ὁδῶν ἐξίστανται, Arist. Nub. 993 τῶν θάκων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑπανίστασθαι. In rep. Lac. xv 6, ἑδρας πάντες ὑπανίστανται βασιλεῖ, πλὴν οὐκ ἔφοροι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορικῶν δίφρων, the two constructions are seen side by side. 10 ὁδῶν παραχωρῶσι, 'make room for, get out of the way for', so below I. 33, Mem. II iii 16 ὁδοῦ παραχωρήσαι τὸν νεώτερον πρεσβυτέρῳ συντυγχάνοντι πανταχοῦ νομίζεται καὶ καθήμενον ὑπαναστήναι, Cyrop. VII v 20 ὁ ποταμὸς ἡμῶν παρακεχώρηκε τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁδοῦ. γεραίρωσι, *ornent*, 'honour', a poetical word, frequently used by Xen., e.g. Cyr. VIII i 39 τούτους καὶ δώροις καὶ ἑδραῖς καὶ πάσαις τιμαῖς ἐγέραιρεν, Hell. I vii 33 στεφάνους γεραίρειν τοὺς νικῶντας, Oecon. iv 8. 11 οἱ παρόντες δέ: δέ 'each time' is placed after the participle, when it refers to the finite verb no less than to the participle: cf. Oecon. VIII 7, xix 19.

12 γὰρ δὲ, 'for of course, as a matter of fact'. τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσι τοῖς τυράννοις, not 'they do these kind of things to despots', which would require τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσι τοὺς τυράννους, but 'they do these kind of things in honour of despots' (*dativus commodi*), G. § 165. See cr. n. 13 καὶ ἄλλον ὄντινα for καὶ ὄντινα ἄλλον δέ τ. τ., scil. τούτῳ ταῦτα ποιοῦσι, *et aliis, quos quocumque tempore prosequantur honore*.

§ 3 l. 14 ἀνὴρ, not ἄνθρωπος, because Xen. is here speaking of man in a higher sense, as raised above the level of the brute creation, and not as a mere ζῷον. 15 τῷ ὀρέγεσθαι, epexegetical infinitive in apposition to τούτῳ; see n. to Oecon. xiv 10 and for the dative G. § 188 Note 1, HA. § 780. ἐπεὶ, 'for'. For the sentiment cp. the *Spectator* No 467: 'Those who

are most affected with the love of praise seem most to partake of that particle of the Divinity which distinguishes mankind from the inferior creation', Cic. de off. i viii 26. 16 *ἑπνοῖς*: the plural probably is used for the sake of assimilation with 17 *στίρας* and *ποταῖς*. 17 *πάντα ὁμοίως*: vi 16. 19 *ἐμφύη*: subj. of *ἐνέφυν*. The mss reading *ἐμφυῆ* would imply the existence of a form *φυῆναι*, formed after the analogy of *βυῆναι*, but this was confined to later Greek. οἷς δ' ἄν—οὔτοι: see n. to iii 4. 20 *ἡδῆ*: i 36. 21 *ἄνδρες—ἀνθρώποι*: cf. ii 1 note and add to the exx. there quoted Anab. i vii 4, Philostr. V. A. 1, 16 οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἑαυτῷ δεῖν ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν. Frotscher compares Cic. Ep. ad fam. v 17 3 *ne hoc quidem praetermittendum esse duxi, te ut hortarer rogaremque, ut et hominem te et virum esse meminisses*.

§ 4 l. 22 *ἐμοὶ μὲν*: see note to i 7. 23 *εἰκότως—ὑπομένειν*: For *ἐπικουφίζει τι ἢ τιμῇ τοὺς πόρους τῷ ἄρχοντι* Cyr. i vi 25. 24 *διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων*, the genitive of distinction, HA. § 753 g. 26 *τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγγυτέρω*: G. § 75 Note 1, § 182, 2, HA. § 260, § 757. 27 *εὐφροσύνη*, 'mirth', another poetical word often used by Xenophon, as below viii 3, Cyr. iii iii 7 *δοκεῖ ἡμῖν εὐφροσύνη τις νῦν παρεῖναι, ὅτι εὐπορία τις προσγεγένηται*, vii 4, 6 *εἰρήνης καὶ εὐφροσύνης πάντα πλέα ἦν*, viii vii 12 *ὅταν ἀνθρωπίνης εὐφροσύνης ἐπιδεῆς ἔσῃ*; but chiefly in the plural in a concrete sense, as above i 2, Cyr. vii ii 28 *ἐκείνη (ἡ γυνή) τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ εὐφροσυνῶν πασῶν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἴσον μετεῖχε*, ib. viii i 32 *προπονεῖν σὺν τῷ καλῷ τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν*, Agesil. ix 3 *ἡγάλλετο, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐν μέσῃς ταῖς εὐφροσύναις ἀναστρέφοιτο*, rep. Lac. vii 6 *ἡ κτήσις πλείους λύπας ἢ ἡ χρῆσις εὐφροσύνας παρέχει*, Mem. iii viii 10 *γραφὰ καὶ ποικιλία πλείους εὐφροσύνας ἀποστεροῦσιν ἢ παρέχουσι*, Oecon. ix 12 *τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν μεταδίδόντες*, Apol. 8 *γῆρα, εἰς ὃ πάντα τὰ χαλεπὰ συρρεῖ καὶ μάλα ἔρημα τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν*. L. Dindorf is mistaken in asserting (Steph. Thesaur. iii p. 2502 b) that the word '*sacpius est etiam apud Platonem et Demosthenem aliosque*'. As a matter of fact, in the former writer it only occurs thrice, each time in reference to its supposed derivation (*εἶ, φέρεσθαι*), viz. Defin. p. 413 ε, Cratyl.

p. 419 D, Timae. p. 80 B; in the latter only once, *de fals. leg.* p. 422, 6, in a quotation from Solon.

§ 5 l. 29 αἱ ὑπουργαὶ αἱ ὑπὸ φόβουμένων 'services rendered by men under fear'. For the use of ὑπό with verbal substantive to denote the acting person or efficient cause *cp.* viii 4, *Cyr.* iii iii 2, *Plat. Rep.* p. 378 D Ἦρας δεσμοὺς ὑπὸ νείους καὶ Ἠφαίστου βίψεις ὑπὸ πατρός; also for the absence of the article before the participle ix 3 τὸ μὲν ἀνάγκης δεόμενον κολάζειν.

§ 7 l. 30 ἂν φαίμεν, see note to i l. 31 διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, 'out of respect for their oppressors'.

§ 8 l. 34 καί—γε: vi 16. 35 καὶ ταῦτα *sc.* τὰ δῶρα, either 'and those too', as in ii 2, or simply *idque* 'and that too'.

36 μὴ—ὑπ' αὐτῶν πάθωσιν, *G.* § 218. For the use of ὑπό to denote the agent or author, with intransitive neuter verbs in passive sense, see *HA.* § 808, 1 b. 38 ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις, 'from the opposite sentiments to these', i.e. not from hatred and servile fear but from love and sympathy.

§ 9 l. 39 ἄνθρωποι, i 2 note. 40 ἡγησάμενοι—νομίσαντες: with verbs of thinking, wishing and those which denote generally any mental act, the Greeks often use the aorist participle, where we use the present.

ἀπολαύειν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ νομίσαντες, ἔπειτα—ἔχωσιν, 'because they think that they reap some advantages from him, for that reason have his praises always in their mouth'. Some take the present infinitive (*ἀπολαύειν*) here to be used for the future infinitive (see *G.* § 203 note 2, *Lobeck on Phrynichus* p. 746 ff. and cf. *Oecon.* vi 11, *Ages.* ii 8), but this does not appear necessary. On the use of ἔπειτα with the principal verb after a participle to mark with emphasis that the principal action takes place as a consequence of the action expressed by the participle, see *HA.* § 976 b.—Ἐπειτα however is generally used in the sense of *tamen*, not, as here, in that of *propterea*.

41 ἀνά στόμα ἔχωσιν: *Eur. Electr.* 80 θεοὺς ἔχων ἀνά στόμα, *Andr.* 95 ἀνά στόμ' αἰεὶ καὶ διὰ γλώσσης ἔχειν, *Hom. Il.* ιι 250

- τῷ οὐκ ἂν βασιλῆας ἀνὰ στόμ' ἔχων ἀγορεύοις. The phrase διὰ στόματος ἔχειν occurs in Cyr. i iv 25. 43 οἰκείον—ἀγαθόν, *ut sibi peculiare—bonum*. 45 μὴ φοβούμενοι: the μὴ is controlled by the *δταν* in l. 39. The apodosis begins with οἱ τοι l. 47. κοινῇ, *communiter*. So Cobet. The common reading κοινῆς can scarcely mean 'public virtue', as it has been translated. 46 δωρεῖσθαι ἐθέλωσιν, 'are glad to make him presents'. οἱ αὐτοί, *iidem*, 'likewise'. See, however 18 or. n. 48 τοιαῦτα ὑποργήσωσι: see note to l. 7. τοῦτων, 'these marks of respect'. 49 τιμᾶσθαι sc. δοκεῖ μοι. τῷ ὄντι i.q. ἀληθῶς, 'really' 'effectually'.

§ 10 l. 51 φροντίζόμενον μὴ τι πάθῃ. As the active φροντίζειν μὴ τι πάθῃ means 'to be anxious for another that he may not come to harm', so the object of the concern of others is said φροντίζεσθαι μὴ τι πάθῃ. Cobet compares a similar use of the passive *de re equestri* xi 7, where the horse from which a rider dismounts is said καταβαίνεισθαι 'to be dismounted from', ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἵππος ταχύ τε καταβαλινῆται καὶ ἀποχαλινώται, and Oecon. iv 3 αἱ βανανσικαὶ καλούμεναι (τέχναι) εἰκότως πάνυ ἀδοξοῦνται πρὸς τῶν πόλεων. 55 οὕτως bears demonstrative reference to the preceding clause ὡς—ἀποθνήσκειν. εὐ ἴσθι, as in Oecon. x 13, *extra constructionem*. 56 διὰγει: i 8.

§ 11 l. 57 διήκουσεν, 'had heard to the end': Oecon. xi 1. 58 καὶ πῶς; see n. to i l. 6. τὸ τυραννεῖν, G. § 258, H.A. § 959. 59 ἔγνωκας, *expertus es*. 60 οὔτε ἄλλος μὲν δὴ οὐδέεις, 'nor in fact, it may be enough to say, any one else', the enumeration beginning with μὲν is cut short by δὴ, one consideration μὲν and there an end. 61 ἐκὼν εἶναι, G. § 268 Note, H.A. § 956 a. οὐδέεις πώποτε... τυραννίδος ἀφείτο, 'no one ever yet gave up despotic power'. ἀφείτο aor. 2 mid.=ἀπηλλάγη. Cf. Cyr. ii i 21 ἀφείμενοι τοῦ πολλοῖς προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, Oecon. vi 16 ἀφείμενον τῆς καλῆς δψews, *de red.* iv 6 ἀφείμενοι τοῦ τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι, Soph. Oed. Tyr. 1521 ἀφού τέκνων, Thuc. ii 60 μὴ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀφίσσθε. ὅσπερ ἅπαξ ἐκτίσατο, see cr. n.

§ 12 l. 63 ταύτη, *hoc nomine*, 'in this point, herein', as explained in the following sentence introduced by γάρ.

ἀθλιώτατον: see note to vi 9. For the sentiment cp. Plutarch Solon c. 14 πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν (Σόλων) καλὸν μὲν εἶναι τὴν τυραννίδα χωρὶον, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ἀπόβασιν.

οὐδὲ γάρ, *neque enim*, a stronger negative than οὐ γάρ, corresponding to the positive καὶ γάρ. 65 πῶς ἂν—ἐπαρκέσει—ἐκτίνων, 'how is it possible that he should pay enough (to repay those)' etc.? The verb ἀρκεῖν has here the same personal construction as in Oecon. xii 4 ὅστις μέλλει ἀρκέσειν ἐπιμελούμενος, Cyt. iv v 44 οὐτε ἐγὼ ἀρέσω πρᾶττων τι πρὸ ἡμῶν ὅ τι ἂν δέη οὐτε ὑμεῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν, v iv 36.

66 ὅσους ἀφέλετο, τούτοις ὅσους ἀφέλετο χρήματα: see G. § 164, HA. § 724, for the double accusative. ἢ (πῶς ἂν) δεσμοὺς ἀντιπαράσχοι ὅσους δὴ ἐδέσμευσεν, *aut (qui fieri potest ut) tamdiu in carcere degat ipse quamdiu alios in vinculis tenuerit?* 'or how could he replace in his own person the exact (δὴ) number of imprisonments which he inflicted on others?' I have followed Cobet in rejecting the emendation ἀντιπάσχοι proposed by D'Orville on Chariton p. 217 and admitted by all subsequent editors. Cobet justly observes that δεσμὸν παράσχειν is not a Greek expression, and that there is a distinction between δεσμά *vincula*, 'bonds', and δεσμός, *in carcerem coniectio, captivitas in vinculis*, 'imprisonment'. The latter is the same in signification as τὸ δέδεσθαι, just as θάνατος = τὸ τεθῆναι; as then θάνατοι may be used to express the death of several persons, so here δεσμοί is said of the 'imprisonment of several persons'. The Greek equivalent for 'to be as long in prison yourself as you have left another in prison' would be δεσμὸν ἀντιπαρέχειν τινι; so δεσμοὺς ἀντιπαρέχειν ὅσους τις αὐτὸς ἐδῆσεν might be very well applied to a despot undergoing a term of imprisonment as long as the combined terms of imprisonment inflicted by him on others. 67 ὅσους ἐδέσμευσεν. On the form δεσμεύειν see crit. note to vi 14.

68 πῶς ἂν ἱκανὰς ψυχὰς κτλ., *qui fieri potest ut pro occisis hominibus satis multas suas ipsius praebeat morituras?* i.e. *ut mortem totiens oppetat quot cives capitali supplicio affecerit?* 'how can he offer a sufficient number of his own



lives to die (to pay the forfeit of) in return for those whom he has put to death?' See cr. n.

§ 18 l. 69 τῇ i.q. τιῇ. λυσιτελεῖ, 'it avails, it pays'. The full phrase is λύειν τέλη 'to pay dues' and so to rid oneself of liabilities, Soph. Oed. Tyr. 316. Hence λύω is sometimes found in this sense without τέλη as in Eur. Med. 1112, 1362 λύει δ' ἄλγος ἢ σὺ μὴ ἔγγελῃς, Alc. 627 φημι τοιούτους γάμους λύειν βροτοῖσιν. 70 ἀπάγξασθαι (ἀπάγχεσθαι), 'to hang himself'. 71 εὐρίσκω—λυσιτελοῦν, G. § 280, HA. § 982. τοῦτο—ποιῆσαι sc. ἀπάγξασθαι: see note to iv 5; τοῦτο may also be the subject of λυσιτελοῦν and ποιῆσαι a limiting infinitive (G. § 261, 1). 72 οὔτε ἔχων οὔτε καταθεῖσθαι τὰ κακὰ, 'neither to retain nor to lay down his troubles'.

## CHAPTER VIII

*Simonides in reply, after sympathising with Hieron's despondency, undertakes to console him by showing that such consequences do not necessarily attend despotic rule. The despot's power is an instrument for good as well as for evil. By a proper employment of it he may not only avoid being hated, but may even make himself beloved, beyond the measure attainable by any private citizen. Even kind words and petty courtesies are welcomed far more eagerly when they come from a powerful man than from an equal (§ 1—§ 4). Moreover a showy and brilliant exterior seldom fails to fascinate the spectator (§ 5—§ 7).*

*Hieron replies: 'But despots are obliged by their position to incur unpopularity where private persons need not do so. They must levy taxes for their necessary supplies, punish malefactors, restrain law-breakers, and in case of a sudden outbreak of war they must enforce a strict attention to duty on those in command. Lastly, they must keep up a body-guard of mercenaries—a most oppressive burden to their subjects, who regard it as an instrument of tyranny' (§ 8—§ 10).*

§ 1 l. 1 ὑπολαβών, 'in answer'. The original meaning of ὑπό is 'upwards', hence it expresses resistance 'to a motion'. Ὑπολαμβάνειν is 'to take up' or 'interrupt' a speaker; ὑπακούειν 'to show that one hears' (by answering or obeying). So ὑπομένειν is 'to bear up against', ὑπωμοσία is 'an affidavit to stop proceedings'. See Monro's *Homeric Grammar*, p. 140. τὸ μὲν νῦν—μέντοι, 'although for the present, yet'. Cp. ix 1, Oecon. ii 22, x 49 etc. 2 ἀθύμως ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα, 'to be out of heart at (with) despotism'. Cp. Hell. iv v 4 ἐν σκότῳ ἀθύμως πρὸς τὸ δέϊπνον ἐχόντων, Plut. Nic. c. 26, 6 πρὸς τὰς ἐκ θεῶν ἐλπίδας ἀθύμως εἶχον. 4 ἐμποδῶν τούτου scil. τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων. Cp. Cyr. ii iv 23 ἀποσοβοῦντες ἂν ἐμποδῶν γίγνουντο τοῦ (v. l. τὸ) μὴ ὁρᾶν αὐτούς, viii v 24 ἐμποδῶν ἀλλήλοις πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔσεσθε. 5 ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ, *videor mihi posse*. 6 οὐδέν, adv. 'not at all', cf. i 28. ἀποκωλύει (scil. τὸν ἄρχοντα) τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι, G. § 174, HA. § 748. 7 πλεονεκτεῖ γε τῆς ιδιωτείας, 'he has the *advantage* over private life'. Cp. Plat. Legg. iii p. 696 A καὶ ἰδιωτεία καὶ βασιλεία, Rep. x 618 d ἰδιωτεῖαι καὶ ἀρχαί. Lucian (de conscr. hist. c. 27) uses it in the sense of *inscitia*. The γε serves to emphasize πλεονεκτεῖ.

§ 2 l. 8 αὐτό, the anticipatory accusative, cf. i 38, v 2, Anab. iv v 34 τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν ἢ εἴη for ἔφραζεν ἢ εἴη ἡ ὁδός, Oecon. xix 14 τὸ ὅστρον—ἄγνοεῖς—πῶς ἂν καταθείης. ἐκείνο, in reference to what follows. 9 εἰ, 'whether', iii 1.

10 χαρίζεσθαι πλεῖω, 'to grant more favours': see note to vii 2. ἂν ποιῶσιν for ἐὰν π. 12 ἀπό, 'by means of', iv 10.

13 σοί, the so-called ethical dative, superfluous as to the general sense, but imparting a lively and familiar tone to the sentence. So Shakesp. *Merry W. of W.* 1, 4, 97 'I'll do you your master what good I can', *Much Ado* 2, 3, 116 'she will sit you'. G. § 184, 3 Note 6, HA. § 770.

§ 3 l. 14 προσειπάτω, 'suppose him to address'. The imperative is here used to denote a supposition, where something is supposed to be true for argument's sake.

G. MT. § 84 Note 4. The Latin imperative is frequently thus used by Cio. as in Cat. mai. 11, 34 *ne sint in senectute vires*, 'let us assume that age has no strength', de off. iii 13, 54 *vendat aedes vir bonus*, i.e. 'suppose he has for sale'. 16 πρόσ-ρησιν: Pollux 5, 137 ἀσπασμόν. 17 ἔθι δὴ, age, porro, 'now then', 'again', a form of transition, chiefly in dialogue and usually followed by 2nd person imper. or 1st person subj.

ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφοτέροι τὸν αὐτόν, 'supposing them both to praise the same man'. Cobet was the first to see that ἐπαινεσάντων is the imperative for ἐπαινεσάτωσαν, and to restore ἀμφοτέροι for ἀμφοτέρων into which it was altered by some copyist to suit what he supposed was a participle. 18 ἐξικνεῖσθαι εἰς εὐφροσύνην, *suppetere, valere ad laetitiam*, 'satisfies in respect of causing joy'. Cp. Plat. Protag. p. 311 D ἄν...ἐξικνῆται τὰ ἡμέτερα χρήματα. 19 θύσας τιμησάτω ἑκάτερος, 'let each of the two, when he offers sacrifice, honour (the same man)', i.e. with an invitation to the post-sacrificial entertainment. Sacrifices are enumerated by Aristotle Ethic. viii 9 and Thucydides ii 38 among the chief means of social enjoyment, as they were mostly accompanied by the entertainments of friends and relations. Cf. Mem. ii iii 11 λέγε δὴ μοι, ἔφη, εἴ τινα τῶν γνωρίμων βούλοιο κατεργάσασθαι, ὅποτε θύοι, καλεῖν σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, τί ἂν ποιήσῃς; ib. ii iii 11 ὅποτε θύοι, ἐκάλει (τοῦτον), Plut. Themist. 5, 1, 1. 19 with my note. 20 ἄν—τυγχάναν, i 3, x 3, G. § 211, HA. § 964 a.

§ 4 l. 21 κάμνοντα, *aegrotantem*. 22 σαφές scil. ἐστὶ αἱ ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπείαι, 'kind offices bestowed by those who are most powerful', see n. to vii 6. 23 ἐμποιοῦσιν 'produce in them' scil. τοῖς θεραπευθεῖσι. 24 δόντων τὰ ἴσα, 'suppose they (i.e. δ τε ἀρχῶν καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης) make him equal presents'. 25 αἱ ἡμίσειαι χάριτες, 'favours of half the value'. 26 πλέον—δύνανται, *plus valent*. ὅλον τὸ δῶρημα, G. § 142, 4 Note 5, HA. 672 a.

§ 5 l. 28 συμπαρέπεσθαι, *comitari*, 'to go along with', 'attend on': Cyr. ii i 23 καὶ ἄλλαι τιμαὶ αἱ πρέπουσαι ἐκάστοις συμπαρεῖποντο, Plat. Legg. ii p. 667 B ὅσοις συμπαρέπεται

τις χάρις. ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι: ἀνὴρ is frequently used appositively with words denoting station or condition. Cp. viii 10, ix 3, xi 1 and see H.A. § 625. μὴ—δτι—ποιεῖ—ἀλλὰ καὶ—θεώμεθα, 'not only does it (authority) add lustre to the appearance of him who is invested with it, but we look at this same man with greater pleasure when he is in authority than when he is only a private person'. With ποιεῖ we must supply the subject τὸ ἄρχειν, implied in ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι. Cf. Oecon. v 3, xx 3, xxi 12. μὴ δτι, = 'not only', when followed as here by ἀλλὰ καὶ or simply ἀλλὰ, i.e. not supposing us to say. Cf. Plato Apol. p. 40 D μὴ δτι ἰδιώτην τινά, ἀλλὰ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα. When ἀλλ' οὐδέ=ne—quidem follows, it means 'not only not', like the Latin *non modo* when followed by *sed ne—quidem*. Where μὴ δτι ushers in the second of two clauses, of which the first is negative, it means *ne dum* 'much less'. 31 διαλεγόμενοι ἀγαλλόμεθα, G. § 279, 1, H.A. § 983. Cp. Agesil. v 3 πονῶν ἡγάλλετο, Hell. vi v 48 (ed. Cobet) ἀγαλλόμεθα συναγορεύοντες ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς. τοῖς προτετιμημένοις sc. ἡμῶν, 'our superiors in rank'. 32 τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἡμῖν ὄνσι, 'those who are on the same level with us'.

§ 7 l. 33 ὁπότε, *quandoquidem*, cp. iv 2, Symp. ii 12 καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία διδακτόν, ὁπότε αὐτῇ—οὕτω τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ ξίφη ἵεται, 20 Ages. viii 5. γε μὴν: see n. to x 5. 35 πολλαπλάσια soil. τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. 36 ἔχητε, *positis*, l. 5. 37 καὶ πολὺ: see n. to ii 10.

§ 8 l. 39 ἐξ ὧν ἀπεχθάνονται—πλείω—πραγματεῦσθαι, 'to engage in many more of the transactions, because of which men incur hatred'.

§ 9 l. 41 πρακτέον μὲν γε χρήματα sc. ἐστὶ, 'thus, for one thing, we must exact money'. Buttman on Dem. Mid. § 21 f. observes on μὲν γε:—*cum quis uno argumento vel exemplo aliquid probat, potest hoc ut sufficiens adferre; quod fit particula γάρ: potest etiam significare plura quidem posse desiderari sed hoc unum satis grave esse; quod fit addito γέ, 'certe saltem'*. He observes also that in many passages editors

have substituted μέν γάρ for μέν γε; as Weiske would in the present passage. Cf. Arist. Nub. 1382, Av. 1608, Lys. 589, Xen. Cyr. ii i 16, ii 14, iv iii 18, v 29 etc. So μέν γε, answered by δέ, is often used in working out a contrast between two characters. Ridd. l. c. § 158. εἰ μέλλομεν ἔξαι κτλ., 'if we are to have the means of spending upon necessities'. Cf. Oecon. v 15, vii 20, xii 5, Ages. ii 25 χρημάτων ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν δεομένην, εἰ μέλλοι σύμμαχόν τινα ἔξαι, Mem. ii vi 14 ὡς εἰ μέλλομεν ἀγαθὸν τινα κτήσεσθαι φίλον, αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι, de re eq. ii 2 ταῦτα ὑποδείγματα ἔσται τῷ πωλοδᾶμνῳ ὧν δεῖ ἐπιμεληθῆναι, εἰ μέλλει τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολήψεσθαι. On δαπανᾶν εἰς see x 8, xi 1. 42 ἀναγκαστέον φυλάττειν, 'we must compel (persons) to guard'; the indefinite object being unexpressed. 45 καί—γε: i 17, 22. ὅταν τάχους καιρὸς παρὰσθῇ—ἐξορμᾶσθαι, 'whenever the moment for quick action presents itself, to start on a land or naval expedition'. 46 οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον τοῖς ῥαδιουργοῦσι scil. ῥαδιουργεῖν, 'he must not let the listless (trierarchs or other officials) have their own way', i.e. he must hurry them up with pressure and fines. Cp. Xen. Cyr. i vi 8 ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι τὸν ἄρχοντα οὐ τῷ ῥαδιουργεῖν χρήναι διαφέρειν τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλὰ τῷ προνοεῖν καὶ φιλοπονεῖν. ii i 25, viii iv 5.

§ 10 l. 48 ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ: see n. to l. 28. τούτου sc. τοῦ φορήματος, 'this burden'. Cf. Cyr. iii i 25 οἷον φόρημα (*quam grave onus sit*) ὁ φόβος. 49 οὐ γὰρ τυράννοισι ἰσοτιμίας—τρέφεσθαι, *neque enim tyrannos tam ob parem honorem quam maioris causa hos alere credunt*. Schenkl remarks 'regis est id agere, ne quis se potentia opibus honore superet, tyranni autem ut ceteros omnes his rebus antecedit; non ergo, ut eodem quo ceteri cives utatur iure, mercennarii aluntur a tyranno, sed ut maiore quadam potentia utatur, ut ipse dominus sit, ceteri servi'.

## CHAPTER IX

*Simonides replies: 'If there are some duties which lead to unpopularity, there are others which tend directly to the attainment of popular favour. A despot therefore ought to delegate to others the task of rebuking and punishing, while he administers rewards in person, giving prizes for superior excellence in every department and thus endearing himself to all. Such prizes would provoke a salutary competition in the performance of military duties, in husbandry, commerce and all the arts of peace and public usefulness of every kind. Thus industry would be greatly promoted and there would be a decrease of crime' (§ 1—§ 11).*

§ 1 l. 2 ἀλλά is often thus used in quick answers and objections, chiefly in negation. ὅπως—οὐ—ἐπιμελητέον—οὐ λέγω, 'I do not assert that we are not to take care of all these matters'. The declarative use of ὅπως for ὡς or ὅτι in indirect quotations is chiefly confined to poetry, see G. § 249, *MT*. § 78. In most of the passages where it is used it may be rendered by *quomodo* 'how'. Μέν is correlative to μέντοι in l. 3, 'it is true—but'. Cf. viii i. It is so used, (1) when particular emphasis has to be given to the opposition; (2) where δέ could not be conveniently used; (3) in expressing opposition to a clause which is itself introduced by δέ. 3 ἐπιμέλειαί, *studia*, 'duties, concerns': cf. *Oecon.* vii 41. 4 αἱ μὲν—αἱ δέ in partitive apposition to ἐπιμέλειαί, cp. iii 8, v 1. On the use of the article as a demonstrative pronoun see G. § 143, 1. πρὸς ἔχθρὰν ἄγειν, 'lead to unpopularity'. Cf. *de Ath. rep.* i 5 ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦς μᾶλλον ἄγει ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσχρά, *Cyr.* vi ii 31 δψα—ἐπὶ σίτον ἄγει, i.e. 'create a taste for eating'. διὰ χαρίτων εἶναι, *gratae esse, ad gratiam conciliandam valere*, 'to be pleasant', 'agreeable', not, as Liddell-Scott translate, 'to be on terms of mutual friendship'.

§ 2 l. 5 τὸ μὲν—αὕτη μὲν—τὸ δέ—ταῦτα δέ. When the opposition denoted by μὲν and δέ lies in a relative sentence, and to this a demonstrative reference is annexed

δς—οὗτος, μέν and δέ (or one of them) are often put twice, first with the relative, then with the demonstrative, see Buttmann Exc. on Demosth. Mid. p. 129. In the same way we find a double μέν with a double δέ in order to bring out more forcibly the parallelism of two clauses. Cf. Oecon. iv 8 οὗτος μέν—τούτοις μέν—οἷς δέ—τούτοις δέ. διδάσκειν αἱ ἐστί βέλτιστα, *ea docere quae optima sunt*. 6 καλλίστα, 'in the best manner', 'most efficiently'. ταῦτα sc. τὰ βέλτιστα. On the emphatic repetition of the demonstrative pronoun αὕτη and l. 10 ταῦτα see on i 17 l. 101. 9 ἀναγκάζειν, 'to treat with severity'. 10 δι' ἀπεχθείας γίγνεσθαι, *odio esse*, 'to be hateful'; cp. Aesch. Pr. V. 120 τὸν πᾶσι θεοῖς δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐλθόντα, so δι' ὄχλου γίγνεσθαι 'to be troublesome', Arist. Eccl. 888, διὰ φιλίας λέναι 'to be friendly', Anab. iii ii 8.

§ 3 l. 11 ἀνδρὶ ἀρχοντι: n. to viii l. 28. The construction is τὸ μέν κολάζειν δεόμενον ἀνάγκης ('coercion') προστακτέον εἶναι (G. § 281, 1) ἄλλοις (G. § 187) ἀνδρὶ ἀρχοντι (G. § 188, 4), τὸ δὲ ἀποδιδόναι τὰ ἄλλα ποιητέον (εἶναι) δι' αὐτοῦ (i.e. 'without the agency of others'). Cobet, regarding κολάζειν as a gloss, would take τὸ ἀνάγκης δεόμενον together as = πάντα ἐν οἷς βίαν δεῖ προσφέρειν καὶ ἀνάγκην προστιθέναι. See however cr. app.

21 14 μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γινόμενα, 'facts testify'.

§ 4 l. 15 ἡμῖν: see n. on viii 2. 16 ἄλλα προτίθουσιν, 'offers prizes'. Cf. de red. iii 3 εἰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἀρχῇ ἄλλα προτιθείη τις, ὅστις δικαιοτάτα διαιροῖη τὰ ἀμφίλογα, Cyr. iv i 18 ἀγῶνας προεπιπῶν ἑκάστοις καὶ ἄλλα προτιθεὶς δοκεῖ μάλιστα ἂν ποιεῖν εὖ ἀσκεισθαι ἕκαστα, Hell. iii iv 16 ἄλλα προσέθηκε ταῖς ὀπλιτικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἥτις ἀριστα σωματῶν ἔχοι, iv ii 5 ἄλλα προσέθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἥτις ἀριστον στράτευμα πέμποι, Eur. Hel. 42 προὔτεθην ἐγὼ—ἄθλον—δορός. By ὁ ἀρχων is meant the President of the college of Archons, called ἐπώνυμος not because he was ἐπώνυμος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, but because for reasons arising from his official position, his name headed several official lists (Lange *Leipziger Studien* i p. 159). He had the general superintendence of the greater Dionysia and

of the Thargelia. 17 αὐτοῖς scil. τοὺς χρόνους. χορηγούς: the χορηγία was one of the so-called ἐγκύκλιοι λειτουργίαι or 'public services required of each citizen in rotation'. The duties of the χορηγοί of whom there were ten, one for each tribe, consisted in providing the choreutae and in paying the expenses of a trainer (χοροδιδάσκαλος) for them, in maintaining them while they were in training, also in paying the expenses of their dresses, crowns and masks. Cf. Oecon. ii 6. 18 ἄλλοις scil. χοροδιδασκάλοις. ἀνάγκην προστιθέναι, 'to apply coercion'; cp. Cyr. ii iv 12 ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ προσθεῖναι, de rep. Lac. x 7 ἐπέθηκε τὴν ἀνυπόστατον ἀνάγκην. 19 εὐθὺς, 'obviously', 'as appears at once'; cp. ii 8. τὸ ἐπίχαρι, 'the agreeable part'; Cyr. i iv 4 ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις πάνπαν ἐπίχαρις, Anab. ii vi 12 τὸ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν (i.e. *morum suavitatem*) ἀλλ' αἰεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ὠμός. The superlative ἐπιχαριτώτατος occurs in the Oecon. vii 37, and the adverb ἐπιχαρίτως in Apolog. 4. 20 ἐγένετο, gnomie aorist, G. § 205, 2, HA. § 849. τὰ ἀντίτυπα, *contraria*, the reverse of τὸ ἐπίχαρι (cf. Theogn. 1244 ἦθος ἔχων δόλιον, πλοῖστος ἀντίτυπον), or *molesta* 'repellent', 'harsh'. It occurs in the sense of 'adverse' in Hell. vi iii 12 ὁρῶ—πολλὰ ἀντίτυπα γιγνόμενα.

§ 5 l. 21 τί κωλύει; *quid obstat quo minus? quidni?* 'what is there to prevent?' 'what reason is there why not?'

τὰλλα τὰ πολιτικά, *cetera civilia*, 'the other municipal affairs'. μὲν γάρ: see note to iii § 7. 22 αἱ πόλεις αἱ μὲν—αἱ δέ, cf. l. 4. 23 κατὰ φυλὰς: Attica was divided into ten phylae, Lacedaemon into six *morae*, Thebes and Argos into *lochi* (Hell. vi iv 13; vii ii 4). That λόχος may mean 'a union for civil purposes' is evident from Aristotle's Pol. v 8, p. 1309 a, l. 12 κατὰ φρατρίδας καὶ λόχους καὶ φυλάς, Dem. de cor. 106 τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν.

§ 6 l. 25 τούτοις scil. τοῖς μέρεσι. 27 ἀλκῆς τῆς ἐν πολέμῳ, 'for bravery in the field'. This is the third attributive position, the first being τῆς ἐν πολέμῳ ἀλκῆς, the second τῆς ἀλκῆς τῆς ἐν πολέμῳ. The word ἀλκή is one of the many poetical expressions found in Xen. It occurs again in Hell. vi i



12. 28 δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις: cf. the passage from the de red. iii 3 quoted above l. 16. εἰκός (sc. ἐστὶ) δοκῆσθαι, G. § 226, 4. 29 ταῦτα πάντα scil. εὐοπλίαν, εὐταξίαν κτλ. διὰ φιλονικίαν, 'through competition'. Below l. 33 διὰ φιλονικίας = φιλονικῶς, 'in a spirit of rivalry', ἐνθύνως (ἐν, τείνω), *studiose*, 'vigorously', 'zealously'.

§ 7 l. 30 καί—γε: i § 17. ὅποι δέοι: G. § 233. 31 ὅρεγμένοι: vii 1. The ἄν must be repeated with εἰσφέρειν.

32 τούτου scil. τοῦ εἰσφέρειν χρήματα. καὶ τὸ πάντων γε χρησιμώτατον—ἐξεργαζομένοις: 'and agriculture itself, which of all (things) is the most useful employment, though it has not been usual to encourage it by means of competition, would make great progress, if prizes were to be offered to those who cultivated the land best by fields or by villages', HA. § 626 b. 34 ἂν ἐπιδοίη, *incrementum caperet*, 'would advance', 'improve'. Thuc. vii 8 καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιδιδούσαν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχύν, Plato Hipp. mai. p. 281 ὃ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι ἐπιδεδώκασιν. 36 The order is: τῶν πολιτῶν (G. § 168) τοῖς τρεπομένοις ἐρρωμένως εἰς τοῦτο scil. εἰς τὸ ἐξεργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν, not εἰς τὸ ἄλλα προτιθέναι κτλ. 37 ἐρρωμένως, 'vigorously', adv. from ἐρρωμένος part. perf. pass. of ῥώννυμι, comp. ἐρρωμενέστερος, superl. ἐρρωμενέστατος. Plutarch Apophth. p. 175 α tells a story of Gelon, Hieron's brother, how ἐξῆγε πολλάκις τοὺς Συρακοσίους ὡς ἐπὶ στρατείαν τὴν φυτείαν (i.e. *ad agrorum culturam tamquam in militiam*), ὅπως ἤτε χώρα βελτίων γένηται γεωργουμένη καὶ μὴ χεῖρους αὐτοὶ σχολάζοντες.

§ 8 l. 39 ἡ σωφροσύνη, *modestia*, 'a sober, law-abiding spirit'. 40 συμπαρομαρτοίη: cf. vi 6. καὶ μῆν, 'and further'. κακουργαί—ἐμφύονται, 'vice seldom springs up amongst those who are actively employed': cf. vii 3.

§ 9 l. 41 εἰ, 'if, as is the case'. 42 τι, *aliquantum*, 'in some appreciable measure'. τιμώμενος ἄν—ἐμπόρους ἄν πλείους ἀγέροι, 'the bestowing marks of distinction on one who applies himself to it (trade) with the greatest diligence would be the means of increasing the number of traders in proportion' (καί). Observe that the ἄν of the principal

verb is here attached to the emphatic word at the opening of the sentence and repeated in immediate connexion with the verb, from which it has been thus removed to a distance: see *G. MT.* § 42, 3 with Note 1 and *op. Anab.* i iii 19 οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐπόμενοι ἂν φίλοι τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐποίμεθα καὶ ἀπίοντες ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἀπίομεν, *Oecon.* xvii 13 τῷ οὖν κατιλυθέντι τί ἂν ποιοῦντες δοκοῦσιν ἂν σοι ἐπικουρῆσαι; The participle *τιμῶμενος* here takes the place of a protasis = *εἰ τιμῶτο*. ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν *sc.* τὸ ἐμπορεύεσθαι, *qui mercaturam exercet*.

- 22 44 πρόσδοδόν τινα δῶνον, 'some mode of raising revenue which would not be vexatious to his subjects'. 45 τιμῆσεται, one of the verbs in which the fut. middle has a passive meaning: others are λέξομαι, μισήσομαι, στυγήσομαι, ἀλώσομαι, ἀρξομαι, ἐάσομαι, οἰκήσομαι, ἀδικήσομαι, ζημιώσομαι, ἀνιάσομαι, δηλώσομαι, καλοῦμαι, ὀνειδιῶμαι, φθονήσομαι (xi 15). οὐδ' αὖτη ἂν ἡ σκέψις ἀργοῖτο, 'this sort of speculation also would not be neglected'. Cf. *Cyr.* ii iii 3 οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀργεῖται (*neglegitur, infectum relinquitur*) τῶν πράττεσθαι δεομένων.

§ 10 l. 46 ὡς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν *sc.* τινί, 'to speak concisely', lit. 'for one to say it, bringing the matter to a point'; *G.* § 184, 5, *HA.* § 956. 47 καὶ is to be taken closely with κατὰ πάντα, 'in every department also'. ὁ ἀγαθὸν τι εἰσηγούμενος, 'the proposer of any good suggestion'; see n. to i 15 l. 87. 48 ἀτιμῆτος, 'unrewarded', a word not found elsewhere in *Xen.* For its usual meaning in Attic Greek see *lex.* 49 ἔργον ποιῆσθαι τὸ σκοπεῖν τι ἀγαθόν, 'to apply himself diligently (lit. to make it a business) to making some useful discovery'; τὸ σκοπεῖν being the object and ἔργον the predicate accusative, *HA.* § 726. In this sense ἔργον ποιῆσθαι or ἔχειν is usually followed by the infinitive alone without τό: e.g. *Mem.* ii x 6 ἔργον εἶχε σκοπεῖν, *Agasil.* xi 12 ἀμαυροῦν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔργον εἶχεν, *Plat. Phaedr.* p. 232 A ἔργον τοῦτο ποιούμεένους *sc.* ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ἐρωμένοις, *Dio Chrysost.* p. 394 d αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔργον πεποιημένων ἐγκωμιάζειν; or by a participle as in *Cyr.* viii iv 6 ἔργον ἔχειν δεόμενον τούτου κοινωνεῖν τοὺς παρόντας (*enizare rogare praesentes ut partem ciborum caperent*). 50 κα—γα:

1. 30. ὅταν πολλοὶς περὶ τῶν ὠφελίμων μέλῃ: for the usual construction πολλοῖς τῶν ὠφελίμων μέλῃ: cp. Herod. viii 19 κομιδῆς δὲ πέρι τὴν ὥρην αὐτῷ μελήσειν (where τὴν ὥρην is wrongly taken as the subject of μελήσειν by some commentators), Arist. Lys. 502 ὑμῶν δὲ πόθεν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῆς τ' εἰρήνης ἐμέλῃσεν; Plato Alcib. 2, p. 150 D οὗτος ᾧ μέλει περὶ σοῦ. 51 ἀνάγκη sc. ἐστί. εὐρίσκεισθαι scil. τὰ ὠφέλιμα.

§ 11 l. 53 προτιθεμένων: the common reading προτεθεμένων has been justly condemned by Cobet, since in purely classical Greek κεῖμαι is the recognised perfect passive of τίθημι. See my n. on Plutarch Themist. xviii 1. 54 οὐκ ἔστιν, G. § 28, 3 Note 1, HA. § 480. ἐμπορεύματα, *quaestus genera*, 'articles of commerce', commodities. λυσιτελέστερα, *quae facilius comparentur*, 'that cost less'. Cf. de red. iv 30. 55 δῶλον, G. 178, HA. § 746. 57 μικρὰ δῶλα, in reference to the simple prizes which were given to the winners at the great games, a garland of wild olive or parsley. 58 ἐξάγεται, 'call forth', 'elicit', not as Liddell-Scott translate 'bring on', 'entail'. Cf. Cyr. ii ii 15 ἐκ γε σοῦ πύρ, οἶμαι, ῥῶν ἂν τις ἐκ-τρίψειεν ἢ γέλωτα ἐξαγάγοιτο ('provoke', 'excite'). See my note on the passage.

## CHAPTER X

Hieron asks Simonides whether he can recommend him any means of avoiding the unpopularity due to the employment of foreign mercenaries as a body guard (§ 1).

Simonides shows how they may be so handled and disciplined as to afford defence against foreign attack, to ensure for the citizens undisturbed leisure in their own private affairs, to protect and befriend the honest man, and to use force only against criminals. If thus employed, such mercenaries, instead of being hated, would be welcome companions, and the citizens would gladly furnish contributions for their support (§ 2—§ 8).

§ 1 l. 3 ἔχεις τι εἰπεῖν ὥς μὴ μισεῖσθαι δι' αὐτούς; *num proferre quid poteris, quod efficere possit, ut inveni non simus ob*

*eos* (*mercennarios milites*)? The indefinite subject of the infinitive is unexpressed, HA. § 942. On the use of ὥς in the sense of ὥστε consecutive, see Index to my *Cyrop.* i p. 354 b.

4 κτησάμενος: G. § 226, 1, HA. § 969 d. 5 οὐδέν, 'not at all', the quantitative accusative, as the measure of the degree of the act or process, cf. i 23.

§ 2 l. 6 ναὶ μὲν Δία: see n. to i. 13. μὲν οὖν, *immo vero*, 'nay rather', for one thing (μὲν) decidedly (οὖν): see n. on Oecon. vii 37. 7 ἐν ἀνθρώποις τισὶν ἐγγίγνεται—εἶναι, 'it is natural to some men to be etc.' Cf. Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 1244 αἰσθημά τι | κἂν νηπίους γε τῶν κακῶν ἐγγίγνεται.

8 ὅσῳ, G. § 188, 2, HA. § 781 a; μᾶλλον is to be understood with the predicate adjective ἐκπλεα from the correlative clause. So in Latin, e.g. Tac. *Ann.* i 57 *barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus rebusque motis potior habetur*; iii 46 *quanto pecunia dites, tanto magis imbelles*. 9 ὑβριστοτέροις: comp. of ὑβριστος (not of ὑβριστής). The word occurs again in *Cyr.* v v 41; also in Herod. iii 81 and Plato *legg.* 641 c.

§ 3 l. 9 τοὺς—τοιούτους, 'such men as these'. The article is used because the notion of a class is rendered prominent.

10 ἀν σῶφρονίζοι, 'would sober down, bring to their senses'. Cp. *Cyr.* iii i 20. ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων φόβος: *Cyr.* i i 5 τῷ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ φόβῳ, iii iii 53 τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φόβου. 12 ἀν δοκεῖς—παρασχεῖν: the ἀν is anticipated hyperbatically as often with οἶμαι etc.; cf. i 3. Translate: 'as for the respectable part of the community, there is nothing, it seems to me, by means of which you might confer so great services on them as by the troops kept in your pay'. For the meaning of καλὸς καὶ γαθός see Oecon. vi 11 ff. and for ἀπό, 'by means of', cf. xi l note.

§ 4 l. 14 φύλακας: see note to ix 10 l. 49. 23, 15 δεσπότες, 'masters' of slaves. ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων ἀπέθανον: see note to vii 8. 16 The order is εἰ οὖν τοῦτ' εἴη πρῶτον ἐν τῶν προστεταγμένων. 17 ὥς ὄντας: for the case cf. note to ii 8 l. 39. 18 ἐν τι τοιούτων

αἰσθάνονται, 'should they perceive any thing of the kind', i.e. any conspiracy of slaves against their masters. 19 γίνονται δὲ πού κτλ., *existunt autem, opinor, malefici*, 'and, as every one knows, criminals are found in every community'. 20 εἰ οὖν —εἰν τεταγμένοι, a resumption of the first protasis, occasioned by the parenthetic clause γίνονται—ἐν πόλεσιν. 21 καὶ τούτους scil. τοὺς πολίτας, not τοὺς κακοῦργους, as the καὶ alone indicates. καὶ τοῦτο, i 8, vii 2 note. 22 ἂν εἰδεῖεν—ώφελούμενοι, G. § 280, § 136 Note 4, H.A. § 982. αὐτῶν of course refers to τῶν μισθοφόρων.

§ 5 l. 22 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, 'in addition to this'; G. p. 240, 6 (2). 23 κτήνῃσιν (κτδομαι), 'cattle', regarded as property. 24 οὗτοι scil. οἱ μισθοφόροι. 25 ὁμοίως μὲν —ὁμοίως δέ: i 5 note. 26 τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, 'those all over the country', i.e. belonging to others. γε μὴν, 'more-over', is little more than a stronger form of δέ.

The history of the particle μὴν, both singly and in combination with other particles, deserves close investigation. With γε, καί and ἀλλά it serves most frequently to introduce something new or deserving special attention, or in connecting the second part of a syllogism with the first. It sometimes, however, has an adversative force. In old Attic prose it is rarely found, seldom in Andokides, only five times in Antiphon, nine times in Thucydides (always in combination with καί or οὐ). In later Greek writers, Lysias, Isokrates, Xenophon, ἀλλά μὴν is common enough. There is no instance, however, in the two oldest speeches of Lysias, XII (or. contra Eratosthenem) and XIII (or. c. Agoratum). In the pseudo-tetralogy of Antiphon I γ § 5, we find οὐδὲ μὴν, and ἀλλά μὴν in the speech of the Pseudo-Andokides against Alkibiades. Aristophanes uses καὶ μὴν seventy-eight times, γε μὴν four times (Eq. 233, Nub. 631, 823, Lys. 144), οὐ μὴν Nub. 53, Tagen. fr. 7, Vesp. 268, Pac. 41, οὐδὲ μὴν Vesp. 480, Ran. 263, Eccl. 1075, 1085, Plut. 373, ἀλλά μὴν Av. 385, Ran. 258, and in the Megarian's speech, Ach. 766, 771. Μὴν does not occur in any combination in the *Kynegetikos*, nor in the first part of the *Hellenika* I i 1—II iii 10. In the *Oekonomikos*, οὐδὲ μὴν is found only once, and ἀλλά μὴν only twice; γε μὴν is very common in Xenophon, with whom it is not much more than a stronger δέ: it is found in the *Hieron*, *Symposion*, *Hellenika* II iii 11—V i, *Anabasis* (I ix 16, 20, V vii 23, VII vi 15, 41, vii 32) and *Cyropaedia*. It occurs six times in the *Memorabilia* (I iv 5, vi 6, III vi 12, viii 10, ix 6, xi 10), while ἀλλά μὴν is found twenty-eight times, οὐδὲ μὴν four times, and καὶ μὴν twenty-six times. In the *Symposion* ἀλλά μὴν is used four times, καὶ μὴν nine times, γε μὴν thirteen times. In the *Symposion* again μὴν is found at the end of a question, iii 13; iv 55 ἐπὶ τῷ μὴν; 4, 23 ἀλλὰ πότε μὴν; and so in the *Cyropaedia* I vi 38 πῶς μὴν; II ii 11

ἀλλὰ τί μὴν βουλόμενοι; III i 41 ἀλλὰ τίνα μὴν; VII iv 10 τίνας μὴν ἔνεκα; Hell. VI iii 13 τί μὴν ἤκομαν; In the third part of the *Hellenika*, v ii—VII, in the *de equestribus*, the *de re equestri*, the *hipparchikos*, the *Agasilaos*, the *Lao. resp. γε μὴν* is very common, in the *de re equestri* it is found as many as forty times, whereas καὶ μὴν occurs only four times, i 7, 9, 11, v 4, μήτε μὴν only once, ix 11. But the attempt to found independent conclusions on these statistics, exhibiting the frequency or rarity of the occurrence of μὴν either singly or in combination with other particles, as to the date of a particular writing—as has been attempted by Dittenberger (*Hermes* Vol. xiv) in the case of the Platonic dialogues—has been shown by Dr Hartmann (*Analecta Xenophontea* p. 35—p. 54) to lead to such curious and unsatisfactory results, that no reliance can be placed on them.

27 σχολήν—ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, G. § 261, 1, HA. § 952. 28 τὰ ἐπίκαιρα, *loca opportuna*, 'advantageous positions'. Cf. Oecon. xx 9.

§ 6 l. 30 ἑξαπινάλας: an Ionic word, found several times in Xen. ἐτοιμότεροι scil. εἰσιν. 32 ἀλλὰ μὴν: iv 1, above l. 26. 35 εἰκός sc. ἐστί.

§ 7 l. 35 ἀγχιτέρμονας, a poetical word. 36 διὰ τοὺς δει ἐν ὄπλοις ὄντας, 'because of standing armies'. 37 καὶ ἐρήνης: It is difficult to render the force of καὶ by any single word, but it is generally identical with the emphasis.

40 οὔτοι sc. οἱ μισθοφόροι. κακὸν οὐδὲν ποιοῦσι τὸν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, G. § 165, § 283, 4, HA. § 1025 a.

42 κωλύουσι scil. κακουργεῖν. 43 τῶν πολιτῶν, G. § 177.

44 ἀνάγκη scil. ἐστί, HA. § 611 a. δαπανᾶν sc. τοὺς 24 πολίτας. εἰς τοὺτους, viii 9. 45 ἥδιστα, *libentissime*.

γούν, see note to ii 8. ἐπὶ μέλει τοῦτων, 'for objects of less moment than these'.

## CHAPTER XI

*A despot should also not grudge the employment of his own private means for the public service, but he ought to consider and have at heart the general prosperity rather than his own private advantage (§ 1—§ 5).*

*His proper field of competition is not with private persons but with the rulers of other states, and the summit of his am-*

bition should be to make his own the most prosperous. By so doing he will win the gratitude, sympathy and willing obedience of his own subjects, and become the object of general admiration not only to them but to other communities (§ 6 —§ 13).

In conclusion, Simonides urges Hieron to carry out in practice the hints he has given, and assures him that by a wise and philanthropic exercise of his power he will find his subjects obeying him willingly, and caring for him of their own accord, and obtain the finest and most enviable of all acquisitions, security, prosperity and happiness unmarred by jealousy (§ 14 —§ 15).

§ 1 l. 1 ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσίων—δαπανῶν: On the use of ἀπὸ to denote the means or instrument see Kühner on Mem. i ii 14, and cf. Anab. i i 9 στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, Plut. Themist. iv 2, l. 23 ἑκατὸν ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἐκείνων ἐποιήθησαν τριῆρεις, Oec. iii 1 τοὺς ἀπὸ πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου οἰκίας ἀχρήστους οἰκοδομοῦντας. 2 εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν: see n. on x 8. 4 εἰς τὸ δέον τελεῖσθαι: *utiliter expendi*. Anab. i iii 8 ἔλεγε θαρρεῖν ὡς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον, i.e. 'since this matter would be settled in the right way', Arist. Nub. 859 ὥσπερ Περικλῆς εἰς τὸ δέον ἀπώλεσα (sc. τὰς ἐμβάδας). 5 ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ: see note on viii 10.

§ 2 l. 5 καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον, 'each point in detail'. Cf. Ages. vii. 1 καθ' ἐν μὲν ἑκαστον μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν, Dem. de Cor. p. 230, 20 βούλομαι δὲ καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, Mid. c. 39 ὥστε δύνασθαι καθ' ἕνα ὑμῶν ἑκαστον ἀποστειρῆν: καθ' ἐν may either be taken with ἑκαστον, or adverbially 'one by one'. Hertlein on Cyr. i vi 22 quotes the following passages in which there is no room for doubt: Xen. Hell. i vii 23 κρινέσθωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ ἕνα ἑκαστον, Lysias 8, 19 καθ' ἕνα ἑκαστον ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθήσεσθε, Demosth. 44, 4 τὰς μαρτυρίας καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον παρέξομαι. 6 οἰκίαν πρῶτον ἤ: πότερον, when ἡ follows in the alternative question, is often omitted, Cyr. iii i 12. ὑπερβαλλούσῃ δαπάνῃ, 'with lavish cost'. 8 κόσμον ἂν σοι παρέχαι, 'would

bring you credit'. 9 παραστάσι, *columnis*, 'pilasters'. 'παραστάδες (παρασάδες) were square pilasters, used as a termination to the side walls of a temple, when those side walls are projected beyond the face of the *cella* or main body of the building. As one of these pilasters is required on each side to form a corresponding support, the word is always used in the plural [in Eur. *Androm.* 1122 we have παραστάδες κρεμαστά τεύχη πασσάλων καθαυπάσας, *Ed.*]; and thus a temple is said to be *in antis* or *ἐν παραστάσι* (Vitruv. *III* ii 2) when the porch is formed by the projection of the side walls, terminated as described by two square pilasters, which have two columns between them'. Rich's *illustr. Comp. etc.* p. 38 b. Schneider after Ernesti would read πασάδες, 'porticoes'.

§ 3 l. 11 ἐκπαυλοτάτοις, 'most magnificent, awe-inspiring', a poet. word, which occurs only in this passage in prose. Cobet *N. L.* p. 549 says *vehementer de mendo suspecta haec scriptura est et perridicula mihi quidem videtur esse. Quae sunt enim ὅπλα δεινότερα, quales? De armis λαμπρότατα aut simile quid in tali re recte dicitur, sed nihil statuere licet in libris tam male habitis et omni mendorum genere inquinatis.* κατακεκοσμημένος = *ἐλ κατακεκοσμημένος* *εἰς*, G. § 226, 1, HA. § 902. 13 οὐσης = *ἐλ εἰς*: *sui* dative of the possessor, G. § 184, 4, HA. § 768.

§ 4 l. 14 τὰ σὰ ὕβια, 'your own private capital'. I prefer this the reading of some mss to the ordinary τὰ σὰ ἰδία. See above x 5 τοῖς σοῖς ἰδίοις. *ἐλ ἐνεργὰ ἔχους*, 'if you were to keep employed, put out to interest'. Cf. Dem. c. Aphob. 1 p. 815, 15 δεῖ καθ' ἕκαστον ὑμᾶς ἀκούσαι τὰ τ' ἐνεργὰ ('productive') αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἀργά.

§ 5 l. 18 ἄρματοτροφίαν, in definitive apposition to ἐπιτήδευμα, HA. § 624 c. The order is: ποτέρως δοκεῖς ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ νομιζόμενον εἶναι κάλλιστον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον πάντων, ἄρματοτροφίαν, ἃν κοσμεῖν σε μάλλον.

19 *ἐλ αὐτός—πέμπους*. On the victories of Hieron in the chariot races celebrated by Pindar see Introd. πλεῖστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων: HA. § 650. 20 ἄρματα, *equos iugales*.



21 πλείστοι μὲν—πλείστοι δέ, see n. on i 5.  
 22 νικᾶν, 'to be superior to others'. 23 ἀρετῇ, 'excellence',  
 cf. ii 2.

§ 6 l. 24 ἐγὼ μὲν, i 7. 25 οἷδ' προσήκειν κτλ., 'that it is not even becoming for a despot to enter the lists with private persons'. 26 νικῶν, i.q. ἐλ νικῶν. 27 φθονοῖο: the *δν* must be repeated from preceding clause. ἀπὸ πολλῶν οἰκῶν, 'by means of several estates', 'from the substance of many families', the means being considered as the starting point, cf. l. 1. τὰς δαπάνας, G. § 141 Note 2. 28 νικᾶμενος, i.q. ἐλ νικῶ. πάντων μάλιστα: see note to iii 6.

25 § 7 l. 30 ὧν (sc. πόλεων). 32 εὖ ἔσται νικῶν, see cr. n.  
 33 ἐν ἀνθρώποις, 'in the world'. Cobet would read with Schneider and Heindorf τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις as below l. 69, Cyr. ii i 17 οὐδὲν ἀνισώτερον νομίζω τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι τοῦ τῶν ἰσων τὸν τε κακὸν καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀξιοῦσθαι, Agesil. viii 6 πᾶν τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις χρυσίον, Mem. ii iii 14 πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις φίλτρα; but cp. on the other hand Cyr. vii ii 28 ἦν ἐφίλου μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων, Plat. Lys. p. 211 ε καὶ βουλομένη ἂν μοι φίλον ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ἀριστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις δορυγα ἢ ἀλεκτρυόνα, de legg. i p. 636 ε κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων, Theaet. p. 148 β ἀριστα γ' ἀνθρώπων.

§ 8 l. 34 εὐθύς, 'at the very outset'. κατειργασμένος ἂν εἴης κτλ., 'you will have secured at once the love of your subjects, which is the very object of your ambition'. 37 ὁ ἀνακηρόττων: i 15. The allusion is to the proclamation by the herald of the victors in the games.

§ 9 l. 38 περιβλεπτος, see note to vii 2. 41 παρὰ πᾶσιν, *apud omnes*.

§ 10 l. 41 ἐξείη μὲν—ἐξείη δέ: see on l. 21. 42 ἔνεκεν ἀσφαλείας, 'so far as security is concerned', 'if security be all'. Cyr. iii ii 30 ἔξεσται ἡμῖν ἐκείνου ἔνεκα πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον συμφέρον πάντα τίθεσθαι, de red. iii 1 ὅπου ἔστιν εἰσορμηθέντας ἀδεῶς ἔνεκα χειμῶνος ἀναπαύεσθαι, Isocr. xv 163 ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἔζων ἔνεκά γε τῶν συκοφαντῶν. The form ἔνεκεν is dialectic.

According to Meisterhans (*Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften* p. 103—4) in inscriptions from 400—300 B.C. the proportion of the frequency of  $\xi\nu\epsilon\kappa\alpha$  :  $\xi\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$  = 28 : 1. From 200—100 B.C.  $\xi\nu\epsilon\kappa\alpha$  :  $\xi\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$  = 4 : 12.

$\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\iota$  i.e. *vel ludos vel alia θεάματα*; Anab. v iii 7 ἀφικνεῖται Μεγάβυζος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν θεωρήσων, i.e. *ludos spectaturus*. There is a reference in this remark to those in i 11, 12, 13.

43 αὐτοῦ μένοντι τοῦτο πράττειν, 'to stay at home and do so', i.e. *θεωρεῖν*. αὐτοῦ = οἱ κοί, *domi*, lit. 'in the selfsame spot where you are'.

44 τῶν βουλευμένων: there is no μέν, because the sentence following has δέ καί 'and also'.

45 ἐπι-δεκνύναι εἰ τίς τι—ἔχοι, 'to exhibit whatever he may have (to exhibit) that is either ingenious, beautiful, or useful'. εἰ τίς τι = *si quis quid* i.e. *quodcumque quis*: cf. v i 2. On the assimilated optative ἔχοι see G. § 23, 5, 1.

§ 11 l. 47 πᾶς ὁ μὲν παρὼν—ὁ δὲ ἀπὸν, 'every one admitted to your presence would be devoted to your person, and every one at a distance would be desirous of seeing you'. On the partitive apposition see v i 5.

48 ὥστε, *quamobrem*, marks a strong conclusion as in iv 8.

50 ἀλλ' ἄλλοις παρήχοις scil. *ἀν φόβον*.

§ 12 l. 50 ἐκόντας sc. *πειθομένους*, G. § 138 N. 7, 'your subjects would pay you a voluntary obedience'.

51 σοῦ προνοοῦντας, G. § 177.

52 θεῶ, present opt. 2nd pers. sing. from *θεᾷσθαι*.

53 καὶ προθύμους 'and that too, zealous'. καί = καὶ ταῦτα, see Schaefer on Gregor. Cor. p. 987 n.

54 πολλῶν μὲν ἀξιούμενος: the μέν is transposed; it belongs properly to ἀξιούμενος. See note on i 9.

55 ὅτε = ὅτινι. εὔμεναι: predicate adjective, 'never at a loss for some friend to share them with'.

§ 13 l. 58 γε μὴν, 'and further'. See n. to x 5. *θησαυροῖς*, 'as treasures'. For *πλούτους* cp. Plat. Rep. vi p. 495 A, p. 619 A ὑπὸ πλούτων τε καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων κακῶν, p. 618 B πλούτοις καὶ πενίαις, Gorg. p. 523 C γένη καὶ πλούτους.

26 59 ἀλλὰ, in exhortations = 'then'. 60 θαρρῶν, *confident*, 'without hesitation'. Cf. HA. 968 A, Cyr. II ii 15 εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους θαρρῶν δαπαρήσεις.

61 στανῶ—περιάψαι.

'you will win', lit. 'attach to yourself', Mem. II vi 13 περι-  
άψας τι ἀγαθὸν αὐτῇ (τῇ πόλει), Cyr. I v 9 νομίζοντες μεγάλας  
τιμὰς καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει περιάψειν. But the word is  
generally used in a bad sense with words denoting discredit  
etc., as in Plat. Apol. p. 35 A, ἀσχύνῃν τῇ πόλει περιάπτειν,  
Arist. Plut. 590 πολὺ τῆς πενίας πρᾶγμα' ἀσχιον ζητεῖς αὐτῷ  
περιάσαι. 62 κτῶ δὲ αὐτῇ συμμάχους: Weiske and Breiten-  
bach think that a sentence is wanting after this to complete  
the parallelism; the latter suggests σαντῷ γὰρ ἔξεις συμμαχοῦν-  
τας, 'for you will thus gain supporters of your own power'.

§ 14 l. 63 νόμιζε οἶκον, G. § 166. 65 ὅτι περ, i.q.  
ταὐτὸ δ, 'the very thing which', 'the same thing as'; always  
in neuter. So δσαπερ *quemadmodum*, Cyr. I v 12 νυκτὶ...δσαπερ  
οἱ ἄλλοι ἡμέρα δύναισθ' ἂν χρῆσθαι, λιμῷ δὲ δσαπερ ὄψψ δια-  
χρήσθαι, Hellen. VI i 15 ἱκανὸς ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτὶ δσαπερ ἡμέρα  
χρήσθαι, Ages. VI 6. 66 νικᾶν εἰς ποιῶν, 'to surpass them  
in acts of beneficence'.

§ 15 l. 66 εἰν κρατῆς τοὺς φίλους, 'if you get firm hold  
(secure the attachment) of your friends'. 67 οὐ μὴ δέ-  
νυνται, 'they will not be able', G. § 257, HA. § 1032. Dindorf  
and Cobet (p. 567) require δυνήσονται, on the ground that  
οὐ μὴ can only be used with future indicative or aorist sub-  
junctive, not with the present subjunctive. But δύναμαι  
and εἰμί seem to form exceptions to this rule, see G. MT.  
§ 89, 1, § 89, 2 Rem. 2. 68 κἂν for καὶ εἰ. 69 εἰ  
ἴσθαι is inserted in the sentence without grammatical con-  
nexion to denote an assurance, just as αἰεὶ is inserted with  
a question, and δοκῶ, δοκεῖ μοι, to denote the thing said as  
conjecture or opinion. Cf. above VII 1, Oecon. x 13: εἰ ἴσται  
Hell. v i 14; III v 11; Cobet would read εἰ ἴσθ' ὅτι. τῶν  
ἐν ἀνθρώποις, see note to l. 33. 70 κεκτήσει, 'you  
will become possessed of'. εὐδαιμονῶν οὐ φθονήσει,  
'you will be happy and yet un-envied'. The common reading  
is φθονηθήσῃ, a form of later Greek, which, as Cobet remarks,  
copyists were fond of substituting for the genuine. See above  
ix 9.

## CRITICAL APPENDIX



## APPENDIX ON THE TEXT

### A. General Remarks

#### MANUSCRIPTS

It is a subject of regret and not a little remarkable, considering the popularity of Xenophon, that we have no very ancient good mss of his works<sup>1</sup>, of the *Hieron* in particular<sup>2</sup>: the best and earliest is not older than the xiith Century.

Since the publication of my first edition, a fresh collation of fourteen mss of the *Hieron*, made by or for Professor C.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Madvig *Adversaria critica* i p. 335: 'omnium Xenophontis operum codices fere satis recentes sunt et in orationis et sententiarum forma facile currenti tamen mendis non ita raro interpolatione tectis depravati, valde antiqui et integritate auctoritateque praestantes nulli, etsi in aliis operibus unus et alter minus mendorum et in mendis plura vestigia veri habet'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cobet *Novae Lectiones* p. 547 sq. 'In nullo alio libro Xenophontis, si *Rempublicam Atheniensem* et *Lacedaemoniorum* exceperis, scribae peius grassati sunt quam in *Hierone*, qui passim pessimis exemplis corruptus et interpolatus in Codicibus perexigui pretii circumfertur. Fieri potest ut aliquando meliores libri in Italia adhuc latentes excutiantur et sic pars mendorum tollatur. Nunc quam vehementer corrupta sint pleraque et inter legendum facili negotio cognoscitur, si quis hoc agit et quam ista et ab Attico nitore et a Xenophontea scribendi venustate abhorreant diuturna Atticorum et Xenophontis lectione et meditatione agnoscere et sentire didicit. Idem animadvertet bonam partem mendosarum lectionum sic esse comparatam, ut Criticorum acumine et sollertia in integrum restitui nequeat: non enim ἐπιτολῆς sunt et leviora vulnera a scribarum oscitantia, ut fere fit, profecta, sed πρὸς τὰ σχολὰ scolorum temeritate et prava correctorum sedulitate penitus inflicta. Interceiderunt subinde complura, alia perperam adhaeserunt, suntque multa menda huiusmodi ut fraudem subesse perspicuum sit, sed quae sit genuina et sana scriptura, quae ipsa Xenophontis manus sit, etiam harum rerum intelligentibus evidenter demonstrari non possit'.

Gustavus Sauppe *de Xen. vita et scriptis Comm.* (Opp. Vol. i p. xvi): 'neque enim satis veteres (libri manuscripti Xenophontis) aut boni sunt, dolendumque maxime non esse quibus ut praecipuis ducibus confidere liceat'.

Schenkl of the University of Vienna, has been published by him<sup>1</sup>. Two of these are of the x<sup>th</sup> cent. viz.:—

Vaticanus 1335 (A)

(now restored to the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, whence it was originally removed)

Marcianus 511 (N)

(in the Library of St Mark, Venice; originally the property of Cardinal Bessario)

Two are of the x<sup>v</sup>th cent. viz.:—

Vaticanus 1950 (D)

(copied from A before that MS was corrected by a second hand)

Ambrosianus (L)

(in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, to which it was brought with others from Chios in A.D. 1606)

The rest are as late as the x<sup>v</sup>th cent.

Vaticanus	128	(B)
"	1334	(C)
Urbinas	93	(E)
Palatinus	143	(F)
Parisinus	1642	(G)
"	1643	(H)
"	2077	(I)
"	2955	(K)
Marcianus	369	(M)
Vindobonensis	37	(P)
Lipsiensis		(O)

There are in addition to these fifteen mss (of which those at Paris, Milan, Venice and Vienna have been collated by Prof. Schenkl himself), one at Perugia of the x<sup>v</sup>th century (once the property of the Monastery of St Peter there), another at Cesena, a third at Munich of the same date: of which Schenkl remarks 'cum omnes saeculo xv sint conscripti, exigua vel, ut rectius dicam, nulla sine dubio eorum est fides atque auctoritas'.

<sup>1</sup> C. Schenkl *de codicibus quibus in Xenophontis Hierone recensendo utimur* in the *Mélanges Graux* p. 111—p. 120: 'Xenophontis quae dicuntur scripta minora cum omnino fortunam adversam experta sint, librarium socordia ac negligentia corrupta, maximam tamen traxit labem libellus qui inscribitur *Hiero*, merito a Cobeto dictus venustissimus. nam quae sit librorum manuscriptorum quibus nunc utimur condicio, facile colligitur iis locis, quos Athenaeus et Stobaeus ex hoc opusculo excerptos suis operibus inseruerunt, perlustratis. quae de re cum Cobetus *Nov. Lect.* p. 547 sqq. luculenter disputaverit, non meum esse puto rem actam agere, quamquam mihi persuasum est Cobetum in scriptura constituenda nimis diligenter Athenaei et Stobaei saeculum esse vestigia, qui quin in excerptis illis haud paucis pro arbitrio immutaverint, in primis verborum ordinem et constructionem, omiserint multa, alia de suo addiderint, omnino dubitare non licet. quam ob rem si codicibus ipsis, quibus is libellus nobis traditus est, posthabitis Athenaeo et Stobaeo ducibus te committas, verendum est, ne ea, quae hi intulerunt, amplectaris, germanas autem Xenophontis scripturas reicias'.

The above mss (setting aside **D** and **M**, of which **D** is a transcript of **A** and **M** of **N**) may be divided into two groups, one containing

**A B E G K L N** =  $\Phi$

the other

**C F H I O P** = **Z**

as may be proved by a comparison of the respective readings in i 7, 10, 11, 13, 27, 28, 31; iv 2, 5, 10; vi 9; vii 4, 6; viii 6; ix 1, 6; x 4.

Of the mss comprised under **Z** those which most resemble each other are **F H I P**; **C** and **O** are very closely connected, both have in iv 9 τὰ παραπλήσια; in vii 6 **C** has οὕτω with τε written under, **O** has οὕτε in margin; in viii 3 ἐπαινον is omitted; in viii 4 τοῦ is omitted; and in xi 12 both have μόνον συμμάχους.

The former group  $\Phi$  may be divided into two classes, in the first of which **A** must be placed; all the others (which Schenkl names **X**) being taken from a ms very like **A**. **N** bears most resemblance to **A**; **G** and **L** show a considerable difference from it; **Z** occupies a place intermediate between **NG** and **B EK**; the latter are most divergent from **A**.

All the mss were apparently transcripts of a copy, which was not very old and full of errors. **A** most resembles this copy, but sometimes **X** and **Z** present better readings, though generally they are more corrupt. Some of these may have existed in the common original of all the extant mss, but most of the corrections, no doubt, are traceable to copyists, who corrected a few trifling errors, while they left the more important untouched.

We must therefore make **A** the basis of our text; whether we are to attribute any weight to the second group (**Z**) is extremely doubtful.

Besides these mss, other aids to criticism are furnished by the readings in the extracts in the Vienna ms of Stobaeos in his Florilegium xlix 30—46=ch. i 1—ch. vi § 6 with sundry omissions, and in xlv 109=ch. ix § 1—§ 10. Athenaeos also has inserted three passages in his Deipnosophists iii p. 121 D, iv p. 144 C and iv p. 171 E.

#### EDITIONS AND COMMENTARIES

The editio princeps of Xenophon issued from the press of P. Giunta at Florence A.D. 1516 and was reprinted 1527; in the interval appeared the Aldine, Venice A.D. 1525, edited by F. Asulanus; this was followed by one with an Introduction by P. Melancthon, Halle 1540, and by another at Bâle in 1555 with a Latin Translation by Erasmus.



The editions of Henri Estienne (Stephanus), Paris 1561, 1581, are much more correct than any of the preceding, and form the vulgate. The edition published at Bale in 1569 contained a Latin version by J. Löwenklau (Leunclavius); a second edition of this was issued at Frankfurt in 1594, and a third in 1596 containing the notes of Aemilius Portus.

After a long interval followed the edition of Edward Wells Oxford 1708, with Dodwell's *Chronologia Xenophontea*, 5 vols. 8vo, republished with considerable improvements in the Text by C. A. Thieme, Leipzig 1768—1764 in 4 vols. 8vo with a preface by J. A. Ernesti and three dissertations by T. Hutchinson; the Editor however did not live to complete the work.

[The old editions of the *Hieron* were based on such mss as **B M X**. Reuchlin used one of the mss that fall under the group denoted by Z. Most of the readings noted by Stephanus in the margin of his Edition are taken from **M**, as **1 7 d 71, 11 1 κακοδαιμονῶν**. The various readings of Villosion were taken from **P H**; they contain therefore nothing authoritative.]

There are also Editions of the entire works by :

J. C. Zeunius, Leipzig, 1778—1782, 6 vols.

B. Weiske, Leipzig, 1789—1804, 6 vols. 8vo.

J. Gottlob Schneider, Leipzig, 1806—1815 (reprinted at Oxford 1810—1817): ed. 3 *Cyropaedeia* by F. A. Bornemann, *Opuscula minora* by G. A. Sauppe, Leipzig, 1838, *Hellenica* 1849.

J. B. Gail, Paris, 1797—1815, 7 vols. 4to (the Greek Text with a French version and critical notes by the Editor in the 7th volume).

G. H. Schaefer, Leipzig, 1811—1813, 6 vols. 16mo.

L. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1824, ed. 2, 1880.

Didot, *Script. Graec. Bibl.* Paris 1838, ed. 2, 1861.

The edition in the *Bibliotheca Graeca* of Rost-Jacobs, 4 vols. 8vo, Gotha 1828—1846.

G. Sauppe, Leipzig, 1865—1866, 5 vols. 8vo with *Appendicula* containing critical notes on the *scripta minora*, 1869.

C. Schenkl, Berlin, 1876 (Vols. I and II only published, neither containing the *Hieron*).

There are several separate Editions of the *Hieron* by :—

Johann Reuchlin, Hagenaw 1520 sm. 4to containing the *Apologia* and *Agésilas* with the *Hieron*: praised for its accuracy by Stephanus, Dindorf, Frotscher, Sauppe.

C. H. Frotscher, Leipzig, 1822, 8vo.

R. Hanow, Halle, 1835, 8vo.

C. Graff, Leipzig, 1842.

G. A. Sauppe, Helmstadt, 1841, 8vo.

L. Breitenbach, Gotha, 1847, 8vo. (forming part of the *Bibliotheca Graeca* edited by Jacobs and Rost).

Some useful observations are given by J. H. Bremi in *Symbol. Philol. Helvet.* I p. 167 ff, Zurich 1819; by Th. E. Richter *de locis quibusdam Hieronis Xenophontei*, Liegnitz 1837, by N. I. B. Kappeyne Van de Coppello in his inaugural dissertation Leyden 1841 (reviewed by Breitenbach in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1845 Nr. 70, p. 553—p. 563), by C. Frank in his Review of Breitenbach's edition ZAW 1848, p. 294—p. 299, and by C. G. Cobet in his *Novae Lectiones* p. 547—p. 568. G. A. Sauppe's *Lexilogus Xenophonteus* or grammatical Index to the entire works is a useful supplement to Sturz's *Lexicon*.

### B. Critical Notes

#### ABBREVIATIONS

Br	= Breitenbach	Sa	= G. Sauppe
Co	= Cobet	Sch	= Schaefer
Dind	= L. Dindorf	Schn	= Schneider
Fr	= Frotscher	Steph	= editio Stephaniana
Ha	= Hanow	T	= codices omnes

### CHAPTER I

- 1 § 1 l. 4 εἰδέναι: καὶ εἰδέναι Sa vulgo. ὅ ποῖα δὴ ἐγώ—*ἀν* εἰδέναι codd.; ὅ ποῖα ἐγώ Stobaeus: ὅ ποῖ' *ἀν* ἐγώ—*εἰδέναι* Cobetus δὴ ex *ἀν* natum esse ratus et obscuratam sic particulam, cum desideraretur a nescio quo correctore, in alienum locum insertam.

§ 2 l. 11 ὁ τυραννικός Co cum AD: vulgo ὁ τυραννικός τε. Mox ἰδιωτικός Sa cum CDGIKOP. See Riddell *Dig. of Plat. idioms* § 237 f where several passages are adduced from Plato, to show the irregularity with which the article is expressed and omitted, when it has to be supplied from a preceding to a subsequent clause. Cf. Shilleto on Thuc. i 10, 4.

§ 3 l. 14 οὐχὶ σὺ cum Stobaeo Co: οὐχὶ καὶ σὺ vulgo.

- 2 § 5 l. 28 κοινῇ Sa vulgo: καὶ κοινῇ cum D Br.

§ 7 l. 39 ἐν τίνι διαφέρει Frank, Schenkl: ἐν τίνι δ. vulgo: ὅ τι δ. cum Stobaeo Co. βλου quod vulgo legitur ποτ' ἰδιωτικοῦ omisi secutus Cobetum; βλος om. Stobaeus.

§ 8 l. 40 ἐν τοῖσδε—διαφέρα vulgo: ἐν μὲν τοῖσδε δια-  
φέροι ἂν εἰ πολλαπλάσια κτῆ Stobaeus, unde Cobetus ἐν μὲν  
τόδδε διαφέρειοι ἂν coniecit.

§ 9 l. 48 εἶχε cum Stobaeo Weiske Schn Dind; ἔχει cum  
libris Br Fr.

3 § 11 l. 56 θεάμασι delet Coppello: si quid mutandum,  
equidem malim verba διὰ τῆς δψεως delere cum Schenklio.

60 θαυμάτων ἔνεκα om. Schn Co. 61 δοκεῖ εἶναι Y:  
εἶναι ita demum retineri potest, si aut δοκοῦντα scribas et  
μοχ συναγείρεται aut cum Leonclavio ἐνθα ἃ ἀξιοθεαύ-  
τατα δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνθρώποις συναγείρεται.

§ 12 l. 67 ἄμα vulgo: ἄμα τε A (τε m<sup>2</sup>) G L N.

§ 13 l. 69 ἀλλ' ἄρα Sa vulgo: ἀλλὰ Co. Cf. Mem. iii iii  
2, xi 4, iv iv 2, 22, Ages. vii 5. 71 ὀλίγα γε Sa Co: ὀλίγα  
τε vulgo. 73 πολλαπλάσια—ἢ ὅσα vulgo: ἢ om. Zonaras  
p. 152 c.

§ 14 l. 77 τοῖς θεάμασι vulgo: ἐν τοῖς θεάμασι malit Co.

4 83 τύραννον—κατηγορεῖν Co coll. Plat. Gorg. p. 522 b:  
vulgo τυράννου—κατηγορεῖν: τύραννον N.

§ 15 l. 87 πάντες κακόννοι εἰσί Co coll. Mem. ii ii 9: vulgo  
πάντες πάντα κακὰ νοοῦσι: πάντα, quod omittunt libri,  
habet Stobaeus om. πάντες.

§ 17 l. 98 ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν N F H (in quo καὶ ante  
ἐσθίειν) I Stobaeus.

§ 18 l. 103 πλὴν οὐχ οἱ τύραννοι Co ex Athenaeo (ubi  
tamen οὐχ uncis inclusit Kaibel): vulgo πλὴν οἱ τύραννοι.  
Cf. de rep. Lac. v. 6, Dem. 18, 45 καὶ τοιοῦτον τι πάθος  
πεπονθότων ἀπάντων, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάστων οιομένων τὸ  
δεῖνόν ἦξει, 56, 23 νῦν δὲ φαίνεται (ἡ ναὺς) πλέουσα πανταχόσε  
πλὴν οὐκ εἰς Ἀθήνας. 104 οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἐπι-  
δοσιν ἔχουσιν αὐτῶν αἱ τράπεζαι Athenaeus.

§ 19 l. 107 ἐκεῖνο vulgo: ἐκείνου, quod Stobaeus habet,  
5 malit Co. 111 τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἐδωδῆς Y Stob. (τῆς ἡδονῆς  
A sec. Sauppium): corr. Steph. ii 9 ex Athenaeo. μειονεκτεῖ  
ὁ post Castal. Steph. ii: μειονεκτεῖς A (m<sup>2</sup> μειονεκτεῖ δ) cet.

§ 21 l. 117 οὐκ οὖν vulgo: οὐκουν Breit. 122 ἐπὶ τῇ  
ἐαυτῶν ut inficere et putide repetita damnat Co. 125 ἀγ-  
λευκότερον Zeune alii: ἀγλυκέστερον Y.

§ 22 l. 128 τούτων vulgo: τούτοις H.

§ 23 l. 132 ταῦτα τὰ ἐδέσματα vulgo: ταῦτα ζητήματα Stobaeus; ταῦτα ἐδέσματα Cobetus cum Athenaei cod. Marc.; ἡδύσματα temere Coppello, et mox ἐπικουρήματα mavult. 133 voculam ἥ ante μαλακῆς suspectam habet Sauppius. Pro μαλακῆς Stobaeus habet ἄμα κακῆς: μὴ διὰ κακῆς Athenaeus, unde Kaibel effecit ἀηδία κακῆς. 134 ἐπεὶ οἱ γε ἡδέως ἐσθίωντες Athenaeus: ἐπεὶ εἰ οἶδ' ἐγωγε δτι οἱ ἡδέως ἐσθίωντες Sa vulgo.

§ 24 l. 140 ἀχαρίτων Sa vulgo: ἀχαρίστων L (τ m²) D E Stob. Par. A Villoison Steph.

- 6 § 25 l. 143 τῶν σίτων vulgo: τοιούτων conl. Schenklius: certe τῶν τοιούτων debuit. Adnotat idem: Postquam Hiero vera esse quae de odoribus Simonides dixerat, concessit, haec addit: 'et eiusmodi rerum cui semper genus omne suppetit, is nihil earum sumit cum appetentia: verum cui quid raro contingit, is cum gaudio eo fruitur, si quando obvenit'. 146 πῦρ πλάμενος Zeune Dind Sa: ἐμπιπλάμενος M Stob. προφανῆ: προσεπιφανῆ Stob.

## CHAPTER II

§ 1 l. 5 Pro ὄψων Heindorf Plat. Protag. § 100 p. 351 A scribi iubet ὁσμῶν, respiciens cap. 1 § 24.

§ 2 l. 12 πλῆθει: εἴδει v. φύσει conl. Ernesti. Equidem, si quid mutandum, πιστεῖ malim coll. quae Hiero dicit in responsione iv 1 de fide servorum.

§ 4 l. 21 φανερά codicum om. Ernesti al., et Hesychius quidem v. ἀνάπνυκτα explicat per φανερά. In Stobaeo legitur θεάσασθαι φανερώς.

- 7 § 5 l. 25 λεληθέναι vulgo: οὐδὲν εἰδέναι conl. Jacobs Animadv. in Athenaeum p. 189.

§ 6 l. 31 ἐλάχιστον Co: ἐλάχιστα vulgo, quod ex seq. πλείστα ortum videtur.

§ 7 l. 33 εἰ ἢ μὴν εἰρήνη—δ δὲ πόλεμος Co: εἰ μὴν εἰρήνη—εἰ δὲ πόλεμος Sa vulgo: et Stobaeus quidem δ δὲ πόλεμος habet.

§ 9 l. 44 ποι Heind. Sa Co: που vulgo.

§ 10 l. 52 ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ vulgo, quod apud optimos scriptores reperiri notat Sa; ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ Co. Cf. Eur. Hec. 981 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γὰρ ἡδ' ἐρημία, Hippol. 785 τὸ πολλὰ πράσσειν οὐκ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ βίου, Iph. T. 762 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γὰρ, Heracl. 337 ἐν

ἀσφαλεῖ τε τῇσδ' ἰδρύσεται χθονός, Plat. legg. p. 892 π καταλι-  
πόντα ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ, Dem. de fals. leg. § 152 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ  
τὰ πράγμαθ' ὑμῖν ἔσσεσθαι, § 262 ἕως οὖν ἔτ' ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ φυλά-  
8 ξασθε. 55 οἱ οἴεται Co.

§ 12 l. 62 ὁ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι Reuchlin Dind Sa; σὺν ταῖς  
πόλεσι (ὁ om.) Y; ὁ συνὼν ταῖς π. e conl. Steph.

§ 14 l. 68 οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς τὰς πόλεις Reuchlin  
(intervallo post ol relicto) Sa; οἱ σύγοντες πόλεσι Y.

§ 15 l. 72 τοὺς πολεμίους primus inclusi. 74 δόξαν  
ἀναλαμβάνουσιν vulgo: δόξαν λαμβάνουσιν Co coll. Cyr.  
i vi 22, Plat. Politic. p. 290 v, Eur. Hel. 847 πῶς οὖν θανούμεθ'  
ὥστε καὶ δόξαν λαβεῖν.

§ 16 l. 79 τι addidit Co.

§ 17 l. 82 ἀντιπράττοντας: vulgo ἀντιπραττομένους,  
quod ut foedam barbariem damnat Cobetus N. L. p. 555.  
Saupprius contra conferri iubet Plutarchum Cam. vit. c. 42  
ἀντιπραττομένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τὸν Κάμυλλον οὐκ ἐώσης ἀπο-  
θέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, et Pelopid. vit. c. 17 τῇ δόξῃ καταπληττόμενοι  
τοὺς ἀντιπραττομένους, ubi tamen Dindorfius Thesaur. ἀντι-  
πραττομένης et ἀντιπραττομένους contra Sintenisium reponi vult.  
Adde Dionys. Halic. A. R. vii 51 ἀντιπράττεσθαι λόγους τε  
καὶ ἔργους.

9 § 18 l. 90 τούτου <ξνεκα> Schn Co: τούτου vulgo, quod  
cum Reuchlino prorsus omittere quam cum aliis ξνεκα addere  
malit Sa. Cf. iii 4 l. 16. Ceterum τοῦτο Frotscher post Ja-  
cobesium Anim. in Athen. p. 224, qui confert Cyr. vi v 9 δ λέγεται  
φοβερὸν εἶναι... τοῦτο μάλιστα θαρρεῖτε, Heind. ad Plat.  
Phaedr. p. 228: quibus locis addi potest Cyr. v v 42 ubi vide  
quae adnotavi. 93 οἶον Co: vulgo δν.

### CHAPTER III

§ 1 l. 1 ὡς Ernesti Dind Sa: ὡς G I K O: οἷα: Steph: ἥ:  
Br vulgo.

§ 2 l. 6 ἄν που ἀπῇ Co Sa: libri ἄν που ἀπῇ. Sed  
absentem, non abeuntem, desiderare solemus.

§ 3 l. 12 νηποιναί: νηποιναί Z, νηποινή M; νηποινά K:  
cet.

§ 4 l. 17 αὐταῖς A (in mg m<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῖς) Z Sa Br: αὐτοῖς  
vulgo.

§ 5 l. 19 τἀγαθὰ Schn e Stobaeo: ἀγαθὰ Y.

## 10 § 7 l. 25 δῆπου om. A.

§ 8 l. 28 εὐρήσεις μὲν τοὺς lδ. vulgo: εὐρήσεις τοὺς μὲν  
lδ. Stobaeus 81 ἀπεκτονότας Stobaeus: ἀπεκτονηκότας  
vulgo. 84 τυράννους delet Cobetus.

§ 9 l. 37 φιλεῖν Stobaeus: libri φιλεῖσθαι, A omisso se-  
quente καί: φιλεῖσθαι [καὶ νόμῳ συναναγκασμένων] Stobaeus  
Meinekianus. 39 χρή Dind Co; χρῆν (χρῆν) Y.

## CHAPTER IV

§ 2 l. 7 τοῦ πιστώσ πρός τινος ἔχει vehementer suspecta  
sunt Cobeto, ut quae et frigeant nec satis ei convenire videan-  
tur, 'quoniam πιστώσ ἔχειν est πιστὸς εἶναι, neque hoc  
tyrannus expetit ut ipse erga alios servet fidem, δπως αὐτοῖς  
πιστὸς ἔσται, sed ut habeat quibus tuto credere possit'.  
9 οὐδὲ σίτοις καὶ ποτοῖς: οὐδὲ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς Athenaeus  
Kaibelianus: οὐδὲ σίτοις οὐδὲ ποτοῖς Stobaeus Meinekianus.  
οὔτε σιτίοις κρατίστοις Y: ἀκρατεστάτοις purissimis coni.  
Heind. coll. Piers. Moer. 25. 11 ἀπογεύσασθαι Z Sa:  
ἀπογεύεσθαι AX Athenaeus Stobaeus.

11 § 5 l. 28 vulgatum verborum ordinem τιμωρεῖν αὶ πόλεις  
αὐτοῖς; correxuit Weiskius. Schenkelius cum Richtero αὐτοῖς,  
quod aliquis ad τιμωρεῖν s. v. adscripserit, potius quam cum  
Frotschero αὶ πόλεις, quo aegre careas, eiciendum esse indicat.  
28 τοιοῦτόν τι, Schenkelius; post Cobetum; τοιοῦτο  
Stobaeus Meinekianus; τοιοῦτον A (v post o eras.) X.

§ 6 l. 28 § δὲ σὺ οἷα Cobetus coll. vi 12; vulgo εἰ δὲ σὺ  
οἷα. 88 ἡγῆται F: ἡγῆται vel ἡγήται cet.

§ 7 l. 89 θαπτόν τι cum Stobaeo (θάσσον) Zeunius:  
θαπτόν Y.

12 § 8 l. 45 Scripturam Stob. MS Paris. ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ  
πλουσίους ὅφει οὐχ οὕτως ὀλίγους τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὡς πένητας πολλοὺς  
τῶν τυράννων probant Heindorf et Schneider. Magis placueret  
quod editus habet ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πένητας ὅφει ὀλίγους τῶν ἰδιωτῶν,  
πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν τυράννων, nisi eadem sententia in vulgata inesse  
videretur (Sauppe). 46 οὐχ ante οὕτως delent Bremius,  
Breit.

§ 9 l. 57 τι accessit e Stobaeo.

§ 10 l. 68 νομμοῖ libri praeter Z in quibus legitur καλοῖ,  
qua de forma vide Lutherford *The New Phrynichus* p. 442 κα.

## CHAPTER V

§ 1 l. 3 κοσμίους Υ; ἀλκίμους cum Stobaeo Co.

13 § 2 l. 9 ὑπεφαίρωνται: ante Schneiderum ὑπεφαίρωνται legebatur. Cf. Plat. Rep. p. 567 B.

§ 4 l. 28 συγχάλα F et K (in mg), συγχωρεῖ cet.

## CHAPTER VI

14 § 2 l. 9 ῥδαῖς τε: τε om. Z. 11 εὐθυμίας Co duce Weiskio: μέθης Schn; μεθύσεως Schenkl.

§ 3 l. 14 αὐτὸς τοῦ M et A B L (in quibus u ante s eras.); αὐτοῦς cet.; αὐτοῦ τοῦ Brodaeī lectionem restituit Zeune.

§ 4 l. 19 ἀόπλους G Sa; ἀνόπλους A (v eras.) cet.

§ 5 l. 22 βαρβάρους δέ: vulgatam τε ita cum Bachio corr. Weiske. 26 φόβων: φόβων τε A (in quo τε eras.) Z; φόβων γε scribendum suspicor. καταπεπληγμένης libri: παραπεπληγμένης cum Stobaeo malit Cobetus, sed vide Cyr. iii i 25.

§ 6 l. 29 συμπαρομαρτῶν λυμαντήρ e Stobaeo Cobetus συμπαρakoλoυθῶν λυμεῶν Sa vulg.

15 § 9 l. 40 ἡμεῖς γε ed. i Steph Zeune; ἡμεῖς τε Y. 42 λαγχάνομεν A (in mg m<sup>2</sup> τυγχάνομεν) X: τυγχάνομεν Z.

§ 12 l. 54 δ δέ ἐξηλσας Steph: ὁ δέ ζηλώσας AX.

§ 14 l. 65 κατακάλειν Co Sa: κατακτείνειν libri, quod epicorum et tragicorum esse monuit Cobetus N.L. p. 560. Attica habentur ἀποκτείνω, ἀπέκτεινα, ἀπέκτονα; κατα-

16 κάλινω, κατέκανον, κατακέκονα. 68 δέη Schn Sa: τε δέη A G K L M.

§ 16 l. 79 ἀπαλλαττομένους: ἀπαλλαττόμενα em. Cob.

## CHAPTER VII

§ 2 l. 12 τοῖς τυράννοις vulgo Sa: τοὺς τυράννους Schn Hdf Ha Co: sed additi ad ποιεῖν dativi exempla sunt Hell. ii i 8 αὐτῷ (τῷ Κύρῳ) ἀπαντῶντες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς χεῖρας, δ ποιούσι βασιλεῖ μόνον, v iii 10 οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων ἐποιοῦν τοῖς κατεληλυθόσιν, Mem. ii iii 13 τοῦτο δέοι ἂν πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ ποιεῖν, Anab. iii ii 24 ἡμῖν ἂν οἷδ' ὅτι τρισάσμενος τοῦτ' ἐποίει, iv ii 23 πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ὅσα περ νομίζεται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς, v vii 29, vii i 2 ὑπισχεῖτο πάντα ποιήσειν αὐτῷ ὅσα δέοι, REq. βλακί γε

μὴν ἔππῳ ἀρκεῖν μοι δοκεῖ γράψαι πάντα τάναντία ποιεῖν, Plato Apol. Socr. c. xvi p. 30 ἅ ταῦτα ποιήσω καὶ ξένῳ καὶ ἀστῶ, Isae. de Nicostr. her. § 19 ὅς τῳ τεθνεῶτι μὴδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων ποιήσας τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῦ κληρονομεῖν ἀξιοῖ. The occurrence of ἄλλον in the next clause does not affect the question whether τυράννους or τυράννοις be the right reading, because it may be attracted into the case of the relative δντινα, cf. Anab. v v 12 ἀνάγκη ἡμῖν καὶ Κορύλλαν καὶ Παφλαγόντας καὶ ἄλλον δντινα ἂν δινώμεθα φίλους ποιεῖσθαι, i iv 15 ἄλλου οὔτινος ἂν δέησθε οἶδα ὅτι ὡς φίλοι τεύξεσθε Κύρον, Dem. adv. Lept. § 120 ἔσται χαλκοῦς ἰστάναι καὶ σίτησιν διδόναι καὶ ἄλλ' ὅτι ἂν βούλησθε πλὴν τούτων. 13 δντινα—τυγχάνουσι: δντιν' ἂν τυγχάνωσιν requirit Cobetus: τυγχάνωσι **A B O**.

§ 3 l. 15 ἐπεὶ σίτοις γε Schneiderus: ἐπεὶ σιτίοις τε **Υ** (om. **B**). Cf. Oecon. vii 6 ἐπεὶ τὰ γε ἀμφὶ γαστέρα πάνν καλῶς ἤλθε πεπαιδευμένη, Anab. i iii 9 οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐτι ἐκείνου στρατιῶται ἐπεὶ γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ, Plat. Gorg. § 46 p. 492 b ἐπαινοῦσι τὴν σωφροσύνην—διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀνανδρίαν· ἐπεὶ γε οἱ ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρξεν ἡ βασιλέων νίεσιν εἶναι—τί—ἀσχιον  
17 καὶ κάκιον ἢ σωφροσύνης τούτοις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. 19 ἐμφύη **Co**; ἐμφυῇ **Υ**.

§ 5 l. 29 αἱ ὑπουργαί αἱ **C**: alteram αἱ om. cet. ὑπὸ τῶν φοβουμένων **A** (in mg m<sup>2</sup> παρὰ) **X**; παρὰ τῶν φοβουμένων **Z**.

§ 7 l. 30 φαῖμεν: φαῖμεν Dindorf.

§ 9 l. 45 κοινῇ Mehler **Co**: κοινῆς vulgo. 46 ἐθέλωσιν οἱ αὐτοί, οὔτοι Reuchlin, Krueger: ἐθέλωσιν, οἱ αὐτοὶ οὔτοι  
18 vulgo: αὐτοὶ οὔτοι Bremi. 47 οἱ δν ὑπουργήσωσι vulgo: ὧ δν ὑπουργήσωσι malit Schaeferus.

§ 11 l. 61 ὅσπερ—ἐκτήσατο Sa auctore Madvigio: ὅσπερ ἂν ἅπαξ κτήσεται **A K O**, ὅσπερ ἂν ἅπαξ κτήσεται **A<sub>2</sub> H I N F**; κτήσεται **L** (η m<sup>2</sup>).

§ 12 l. 63 [καὶ] ταύτη Reuchlin: ἐν (om. καὶ) ταύτῃ **Υ** (in **H** ἐν expunctum). 67 ἀντιπαράσχοι libri: ἀντιπάσχοι D'Orville Charit. 217. ἐδέσμευσεν vulgo quod in ἐδῆσεν mutandum esse indicat Cobetus, illud ratus non esse Xenophontae aetatis vocabulum. Habet tamen Plato Legg. p. 808 d ὁ παῖς πάντων θηρίων ἐστὶ δνσμεταχειριστότατον· διὸ δὴ πολλοῖς αὐτὸ ὅλον χαλινοῖς τισι δεῖ δεσμεύειν monente v. d. Hermann Hager in huius libelli recensione in Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift No. 24 p. 747.



## CHAPTER VIII

- 19 § 3 l. 17 ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφότεροι v. d. ap. Frotscherum  
Co: ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφοτέρων libri.

§ 4 l. 21 θεραπευσάντων—δόντων Co pro vulgatis θεραπευσάτωσαν—δότησαν. 23 χαράν vulgo.

§ 5 l. 30 ἥδιον in G add. idemque m<sup>2</sup> in A (s. v.) M e mera coniectura profectum recepit Zeunius, ducem secutus Castalionem; καλλίω, quod vulgo receperunt ex Reuchlini editione, nihili esse statuit Schenkelius. μᾶλλον cum Leunclavio et Brodaeo Stephanus inseri maluit.

- 20 § 9 l. 41 μέλλομεν Weiske: μέλλοιμεν Y.

§ 10 l. 48 φόρημα vulgo: δορυφόρημα Lobeck ad Phryn. p. 250. 50 ἰσοτιμίας X: ἰσότιμος A (-τίμους m<sup>2</sup>) O L O: ἰσοτίμους ceteri. σωτηρίας ex versione Aretini (salutis suae) adscivit Zeune. Schneidero videtur aliquod vocabulum latere in vitio aperto. Equidem cum Leunclavio legendum puto τιμῆς aut εἰς τιμάς.

## CHAPTER IX

- § 3 l. 12 ἀνάγκης δέσμενον Y: τὸν δ. δ. Steph. Zeune.  
21 13 κολάζειν in ora libri adscriptum fuisse suspicatur Cobetus pro interpretamento.

§ 5 l. 21 πολιτικά Stobaeus; κωλυτικά Y. 23 μόρας A: μοίρας cet. Stobaeus.

§ 6 l. 29 ἐντόνως D, εὐτόνως cet. Stobaeus.

§ 7 l. 30 ὀρμῶντό γ' ἄν I (γ' ἄν in ras. m<sup>2</sup>) et O (?) Stobaeus; ὀρμῶντό γε A (in mg m<sup>2</sup> τὸ ἄν) cet.; ὀρμῶντο ἄν (om. γ') G X.

§ 8 l. 39 ἄν τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ συμπαρομαρτοίη Co: vulgo σὺν τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ συμπαρομαρτοί; sed dativo solo utitur post συμπαρομαρτεῖν in aliis locis, sicut in Symp. iv 17, Cyr. viii vii 7.

- 22 § 10 l. 46 συνελόντι vulgo: συνελόντα D. 49 τὸ σκοπεῖν G: τοῦ σκοπεῖν cet. 51 ἐπιτελεῖσθαι ex Stobaeo adscivit Steph II: ἐπιμελεῖσθαι Y.

§ 11 l. 52 ἐπὶ πολλοῖς Co: ἐν πολλοῖς vulgo. Vide Wayte on Dem. Androt. § 69. 53 προτεθεμένων vulgo: προτιθεμένων Co. αἱ δαπάναι Co: δαπάναι vulgo.

## CHAPTER X

- 23 § 4 l. 20 κακοῦργοι vulgo: καὶ κακοῦργοι Heindorf.  
 § 5 l. 27 τῶν ἰδίων Zeune: τῶν ἰδιωτῶν Υ.  
 § 6 l. 32 ἐν στρατείᾳ Sa, cf. vi 9: ἐν στρατιᾷ Υ (τῇ post  
 ἐν add. A s. v. et K.  
 § 7 l. 35 τὰς δὲ K (δ' om. cet.).

## CHAPTER XI

- 24 § 2 l. 6 πρῶτον vulgo: πότερον G. 9 παραστάσι  
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 391 c.  
 § 4 l. 15 ἴδια G I O Steph. probante Cobeto; ἰδίᾳ vulgo.  
 25 § 7 l. 30 ὥν ἐάν vulgo; ὡς ἐάν Hdf Schn; ᾧ ἐάν conicit  
 Sa. 32 εἴ ἔσει νικῶν libri: quae verbi εἶναι cum participio  
 coniunctio cum per se non improbabilis sit tum aliis locis  
 defenditur, veluti Anab. iii iii 2 εἰμι δαίμων; ii ii 13; Oecon.  
 vii 21, ix 3, [Hell. i vi 32 ὅτι εἴη καλῶς ἔχον]. Obstat εἴ, quod  
 Cobeto e lacuna [pro εὐδαίμων ἔσει, εὐκλέστατος ἔσει] superesse  
 videtur (*Sauppe*), 33 ἐν ἀνθρώποις vulgo: τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώ-  
 ποῖς Schn Heindorf Co.  
 § 9 l. 39 πολλῶν insulse abundare vidit Cobetus.  
 § 10 l. 42 ποῖ We: που Υ. θεωρήσονται vulgo: θεωρή-  
 σωντι K et O.  
 § 12 l. 53 καὶ ante προθύμους del. Heind. Co. 57 ἰδίων  
 post τῶν σῶν add. Υ (ἰδίων τε G): secluserit primus Schn.  
 26 § 15 l. 70 κεκτήσεται ex Reuchlino et marg. Steph. revocavit  
 Schaefer Mel. cr. p. 4: κεκτημένος Zeune: κέκτησο A;  
 κεκτηῖσθαι cet. (G in mg γρ. κεκτημένος). 71 φθονήσεται  
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)( indicates 'as distinguished from'.

The numbers affixed to words denote respectively :—

- 1 doubtful or suspected words
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 ἐπαινεῖν 7 9, 8 3, 9 8  
 ἐπαινος 7 33  
 ἐπεῖ, 'for' 3 4; ἐπελ-γε 7 3  
 ἐπειδὴν 2 9, 8 7  
 ἐπεὶπερ 7 4  
 ἐπεὶτα δέ 4 10, without δέ 2 11;  
 with principal verb after  
 participle=propterea 7 9  
 ἐπὶ μελοῖσι, ob res minoris mo-  
 menti 10 8; with dat. and  
 verbs of emotion, ἐπὶ τινι  
 ἡδεσθαι, λυπεῖσθαι 1 5, 2 13;  
 γαυροῦσθαι 2 15; συνήδεσθαι  
 3 2; συγχαλεῖν 11 12; ἐπὶ τι  
 ἡδίων λέναι 1 21  
 ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι (PASS.) 7 10  
 ἐπιδεικνύναι 11 10; ἐπιδείκνυ-  
 σθαι 1 13  
 ἐπιδιδόναι, incrementa capere  
 9 7  
 ἐπίδοσιν ἔχειν 1 18  
 ἐπιθυμεῖν 10 7  
 ἐπιθύμημα, desideratum 4 7  
 ἐπικάϊρος 11 8, 10; τὰ ἐπικάϊρα,  
 loca opportuna 10 5  
 ἐπικράτεια, potestas, ditio 6 13  
 ἐπιλαθέσθαι 6 2  
 ἐπιμέλεια 9 2; ἐπιμέλεια studia  
 9 1, 11  
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι 10 5  
 ἐπιμελητέον 9 1  
 ἐπιννοεῖν, in animum inducere  
 2 2  
 ἐπισκέπτεσθαι: ἐπισκεψά 3 6  
 ἐπισκοπεῖν 8 2  
 ἐπιστήμης ἀριστος 2 2  
 ἐπιτελεῖσθαι 9 10  
 ἐπιτήδευμα 11 5  
 ἐπιτρέπειν: ἐπιτρεπτέον 8 9  
 ἐπίχαρις, iucundus 9 5  
 ἐπιπνεῦδεσθαι τι, aliquid men-  
 tiendo addere 2 16  
 ἐργάτης 6 10, 10 5  
 ἐργον, munus 1 10; ἔργον ποι-



εἶσθαι seq. τι vel infinitivo  
cum vel sine articulo 9 10;  
ἔργα δουλείας 7 8  
ἐρημία )( δῆλος 6 4  
ἐρρωμένως 9 7  
ἐρυμα 2 10  
ἐρωτικός: ἐρωτικώτατα ἔχειν 1 21  
ἐταῖρος 3 7, 6 3, 11 14  
ἔτι μᾶλλον, 'still more' 2 18;  
ἔτι δεινότερα 6 8; ἔτι δέ, 'and  
moreover' 8 10  
ἔτοιμος 10 7  
εὐ νικᾶν 11 7  
εὐδαιμονεῖν 5 3, 11 15  
εὐδαιμονία 11 5  
εὐδαιμόνως 7 10  
εὐδαιμων: εὐδαιμονεστάτην 11 7  
εὐεργεσία 7 9  
εὐεργετῆν 7 9  
εὐετηρία proventus 5 4  
εὐθυμία, oblectamentum in epu-  
lis 6 2, 11 7  
εὐθύς, statim, dub. interdum  
confirmat, indicans id quod  
statim ut verum se com-  
mendat 2 8, 9 4  
εὐλαβούμενος 6 15  
εὐμενής benevolus 11 12  
εὐνοία παρά τινος 6 3  
εὐσπλαῖα<sup>3</sup> 9 6  
εὐσπλος 5 3, 11 3  
εὐρίσκεσθαι 9 10  
εὐταξία 9 6  
εὐφραίνειν 8 3; εὐφραίνεσθαι ἐν  
τινι 1 17; ἀπό τινος 4 6  
εὐφροσύνη<sup>6</sup> 1 18, 7 4; ἡ εὐφρο-  
σύνη τῆς ἐλπιδος 1 18; εὐ-  
φροσύνη 1 2, 6 1  
ἐφίστασθαι ἐπὶ τινι: ἐφεστήκα-  
σιν 9 5  
ἐφοδος 10 6  
ἔχειν with adverb 'to be cir-  
cumstantoed', 'to be so and  
so', οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει 1 8, 4 6;  
ἔχειν ἀθύρως πρὸς τι 8 1;  
ἔχειν ἐρωτικῶς τινος 1 21;  
ἔχειν πιστῶς 4 2; ἔχειν  
ἀμφὶ τι 1 12; ἔχειν ἐπίδοσιν

1 18; ἔχειν πράγματα 7 2;  
ἔχειν τινὰ ἀνὰ στόμα 7 9;  
ἔχειν posse objective 8 1, 7  
ἐχθρα 9 1

## Z

ζηλοῦν: ἐξήλωσας 6 11  
ζημοῦν 9 2  
ζῶον 7 3

## H

ἡ interrogandi particula 1 21  
ἡ in a question without πρ-  
τερον preceding 11 2  
ἡ 'or else' = εἰ δὲ μή 4 11  
ἡγεῖσθαι: ἡγησάμενοι 7 9  
ἡδεσθαι ἐπὶ τινι )( ἀχθεσθαι 1 4  
— with dative 6 3, 7 3  
— with participle 5 3  
ἡδέως libenter 1 8, 3 2, 6 3, 4  
ἡδὴ 10 4; ἡδὴ ποτε 6 7; τοῦτο  
ἡδὴ (iam per se, utique) 1  
36; οὗτοι ἡδὴ 7 3  
ἡδιον libentius 1 17, 1 18, 8 5  
dub.  
ἡδιστα libentissime 3 2, 10 8  
ἡδύς: πάντων τῶν ἡδέων 6 6;  
ἡδιόν τι 1 21  
ἡλικιώτης aequalis 6 2  
ἡκιστα minime 9 7  
ἡμις: αἱ ἡμίσεις χαρίτες 8 4  
ἡσυχία 6 2  
ἡττον minus 9 8  
ἡττων: ἡττους 4 6

## Θ

θαῦκος 7 7  
θαλία<sup>2</sup> 6 2  
θάλπος aestus: θάληπ 1 5  
θαρραλέως 6 9  
θαρρεῖν 2 11; ἐνεκά τινος 2 18;  
θαρρῶν confidenter 11 13  
θάρος 10 5  
θάττον 9 7; θάττον τι citius 4 7  
θαυμάζεσθαι (PASS.): θαυμάζοιο  
11 6

θauμαστός 11 9; θauμαστόν, ei  
1 6  
θέαμα: τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὀψεως θ.  
1 10  
θεᾶσθαι 7 9, 8 5; θεῶ 11 12  
θεραπεία: θεραπεῖαι 8 4  
θεραπευσάντων for θεραπευσά-  
τωσαν 8 4  
θεράπων 4 1  
θεριστής<sup>2</sup> 6 10  
θεωρεῖν 11 10  
θησαυροί 11 13  
θύειν: θύσας 8 3

I

ἴδιος: τοῖς σοῖς ἴδιος (ἐργάταις)  
10 5; τὰ σὰ ἴδια 11 4; τῶν  
ἰδίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι 10 5; ἀπὸ  
τῶν l. κτημάτων 10 1  
ἰδιωτεία )( τὸ ἄρχειν 8 1  
ἰδιωτεύειν<sup>2</sup> )( ἄρχειν 8 5  
ἰδιώτης )( ἀσκήτης 4 6; 'a pri-  
vate person' )( 'an official'  
1 2, 18, 8 3; )( τύραννος 4 8, 9,  
6 1, 7 2, 11 6; )( πόλις 11 9  
ἰδιωτικός )( τυραννικός 1 2  
ἰέναι: ἰθι δὴ ποτό 8 3  
ικανός c. infin. 7 9, 10 5; i.  
ἀνὴρ, dives ac potens 1 9;  
τὰ l. 4 8; i. ψυχὰς 7 12  
ἱππική 9 6  
ἱππικός 9 11  
ἱππος 10 2  
ἱπποτροφεῖν e coniect. Cobeti  
11 5  
ἰσθί: v. 8. εἰδέναι  
ἴσος: ἐκ τοῦ ἰσου εἶναι 8 5; τὰ  
ἴσα 8 4  
ἰσοτιμία dub. 8 10  
ἰσάναι: εἰκνῶς ἰσᾶσιν 4 5  
ἰσχυρός: l. ἀκρόπολεων 4 7

K

καθαρεύειν<sup>2</sup> 4 4  
καὶ atque adeo 6 6; prefixed to  
interrogative pronouns and

particles 1 1, 15, 7 11; em-  
phasizes adverbs of inten-  
sity when prefixed to them,  
καὶ μάλιστα vel maxime 2 10;  
καὶ πολὺ 8 7; καὶ—γε adeo,  
'yes and' 1 17, 22, 3 8, 6  
16, 8 9, 9 7, 10; καὶ—δέ in-  
super 4 5, 6 14; καὶ γὰρ  
etenim, 'for in fact' 11 1;  
καὶ μὲν δὴ 'and further' 2  
12; καὶ μὴν—γε 'moreover'  
9 8; καὶ οὗτος et is, isque,  
formula quae inferendae rei  
inservit, quae id quod iam  
dictum est augeat atque  
acuat 1 9, 2 2, 7 8; καὶ ταῦ-  
τα idque, et quidem, 'and  
that too' 1 9, 7 8 dub.

καιρὸς τάχους 8 9  
κάκεινας for καὶ κέκεινας 6 1  
κακηγορεῖν τινα conji. Cobeti  
pro vulg. κατηγορεῖν 1 14  
κακοδαίμονειν<sup>2</sup> 2 4  
κακόνους conji. Cobeti 1 15  
κακοῦν: κακῶσαι 2 2  
κακουργεῖν 10 8  
κακουργία 9 8  
κακούργος 4 3, 10 4  
καλλωπίζειν: (PASS.) κεκαλλω-  
πισμένην 11 2  
καλόν τι pulcrum quiddam 2 16;  
καλλίονα 8 5; τοῖς καλοῖς  
κάγαθοῖς 10 3; κάλλιον 11 5  
κάμνειν aegrotare 8 4  
κᾶν i. q. καὶ ἐάν 11 15  
κατά in distribution: κατὰ λό-  
χους 9 5; κατ' ἀγρούς, κατὰ  
κώμας 9 7; καθ' ἓν singula-  
tim, 'one by one'; κατὰ  
συμφορὰν 3 4; κατ' ὀφθαλ-  
μοῦς 1 14  
καταγελάσθαι: καταγελῶ 11 6  
καταθεᾶσθαι considerare 3 1  
κατακαίνειν 6 14; κατέκαεν 7  
12  
κατακοσμεῖν 11 3  
κατακρίνειν: κατακεκριμένος  
ἀποδνήσκειν 7 10

κατακτείνειν unclassical in  
prose for κατακαίνειν 7 12

καταλείπεσθαι (PASS.) 5 2

καταμανθάνειν: καταμεμα-  
θηκέναι 1 4

καταμέμφεσθαι, cum accus. 'to  
complain of' 8 6

κατανοεῖν: κατανοήκας 1 22

καταπλήττεσθαι: ψυχῆς ὑπὸ φό-  
βων καταπεπληγμένης 6 5  
dub.

κατασκευάζειν: (PASS.) κατα-  
σκευάζεσθαι τινι 2 2, 11  
2

κατατιθέναι: καταθέσθαι οπὺς  
deronete 7 13

κατεργάζεσθαι 2 2; κατεργά-  
σασθαι 4 7; κατειργασμένος  
11 8

κοιμάσθαι ὕπνον 6 7. The verb  
means properly 'to take  
up a position conducive to  
sleep', 'to lie down' (Hom.  
Od. xx. 1). Hence it is  
often found with ὕπνον as  
its object, as in Hom. Il.  
xi 214 ὡς δὲ μὲν αὖθι πεσὼν  
κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον,  
Hippocr. Epid. 2, 10 τοῖσι  
πλείστοις ἢ βαρὺ κῶμα πα-  
ρεῖπετο, ἢ μικροὺς καὶ λεπ-  
τοὺς ὕπνους κοιμάσθαι  
κουῶ, adverb, ὑπὸ 1 5; publice  
7 9

κολάζειν 9 2

κολαστέον 8 9

κόρος 11 9

κοσμεῖν 11 5

κόσμος 2 23, 5 1, 6

κρατεῖν τινα εὖ ποιοῦν 11 15

κρίττων 7 7

κρίνειν τινι 'to judge by a  
thing', 1 17, 4 8

κρυφαῖος 10 6

κτᾶσθαι: κτῶ 11 12; ἐκτῆσατο  
7 11

κτῆμα: κτῆματα 4 5, 6 15

κτῆνη, τὰ, pecora 10 5

κτησάμενος 10 1; κектῆσει 11

15; κектῆμένος, ὁ, 6 16

κωλύει impers. with τί or οὐ-  
δέν: τί κωλύει περαινέσθαι 9 5

κωλυτέον<sup>7</sup> 8 9

# Λ

λαγχάνειν δειπνου καὶ ὕπνου 6 9

λαμβάνειν δόξαν 2 15; λαβὼν  
ἀπέναι 'to go away with'  
1 13

λανθάνειν, followed by relative  
clause 3 2; λανθάνει τινὰ  
περὶ τινος 2 5

λιμήν 4 7

λοιδορεῖν 9 2

λοιδορία<sup>2</sup> 1 14

λόχος: κατὰ λόχους 9 5

λυμαντήρ<sup>3</sup> contortor for λυ-  
μαντής 3 3, 6 6. (Xenophon  
was fond of the forms in  
-τηρ as θεραπευτήρ for θερα-  
πευτής Cyr. vii v 65, ἄρμωσ-  
τήρ for ἄρμωστής Hell. iv  
viii 39, δοτήρ, ἀποδεκτήρ  
Cyr. viii i 9, ἐπιτακτήρ Cyr.  
ii iii 4: see Rutherford's  
New Phrygichus p. 59, p.  
165)

λυπεῖν 6 16; λυπεῖσθαι τινι 4 6;

ἐπὶ τινι 1 5

λυπηρός 6 6, 8

λυσιτελεῖν 7 13

λυσιτελής 9 11

# Μ

μακαρίζειν 7 10

μακαριώτατον κτῆμα 11 15

μάλα transposed 2 3; οὐ μάλα

ἔχειν ἀμφὶ τι 1 12; μάλλον

omissa re comparata 16;

to be understood from the

correlative clause 10 2; μά-

λιστα πάντων 3 6, 6 13, 11 6

μαρτυρεῖν 9 3

μεγαλοπρεπής 11 5, 7

μεγαλύνεσθαι ἐπὶ τινι gloriarī

2 17

μέθη 6 11  
 μείζον δύνασθαι 8 2  
 μειονεκτεῖν, construction of,  
 1 11, 14, 18, 19, 21, 36, 41;  
 μειονεκτεῖν τῶν ιδιωτῶν 'to  
 have less (in regard to i.e.)  
 than private persons' 1 18  
 μειοῦν *elevere* 2 17  
 μειων: *melones* 'fewer' 2 17;  
 μείω 18  
 μέλει: μέλει τινὶ περὶ τινας  
 9 10  
 μέλλειν: *ei μέλλομεν ei voluimus*,  
 'if we mean' 8 9  
 μέν—ἀλλὰ 2 2, 6 9; ἅμα μέν—  
 καί—δέ 6 14; μέν γε *certe*  
*quidem* 1 11, 8 9; μέν—δέ  
 not always subjoined to the  
 words opposed 1 9, 3 8; μέν  
 —μέντοι 8 1, 9 1; μέν *solit-*  
*arium*, without any adver-  
 sative copula, ἐγὼ μέν 1 7,  
 3 7, 11 6; μέν omitted when  
 δέ καί follows 11 10; μέν δὴ  
 in introducing a subject  
 1 4; in concluding a subject  
 1 16, 2 14, 18; οὐ μέν δὴ  
*nequaquam* 3 3; μέν οὖν in  
 replies 1 21, 22, 10 2; μέν—  
 μέντοι 'although—yet' 8 1;  
 οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἄλλος μέν δὴ  
 οὐδεὶς 7 11  
 μένειν αὐτοῦ 11 16  
 μετὰ πόθου 1 25; μετὰ χαρᾶς  
 1 25  
 μεταδιδόναι 11 12  
 μετέχειν, construction of 2 6,  
 4 1  
 μετρίως διάγειν 1 8; μ. δια-  
 τᾶσθαι 1 19  
 μέχρι τούτου *hactenus*, *huc-*  
*usque*, 'thus far' 1 7, 2 14;  
 μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθῆσθαι 6 2  
 μή in temporal sentences with  
 indefinite antecedent 1 12;  
 μή οὔτι—ἀλλὰ 8 5; with par-  
 ticiples and article 10 8; in  
 sentences denoting 'precau-

tion', 'suspicion'='lest' 2  
 8, 4 2, 5 2, 7 10, 9 11, 11 12  
 μὴν, history of the particle 10  
 5; γε μὴν 8 7, 10 5, 8, 11 13  
 μηχανᾶσθαι 4 10, 5 1; εἰ μεμη-  
 χανμένος *eius* 11 5  
 μηχανήματα, 'dainties' 1 22  
 μαιφόνος<sup>6</sup> 4 10  
 μακρόν: μ. ἄθλα 9 11  
 μισεῖν 7 7: PASS. 10 1  
 μισθός: μισθοῦ gen. pret. 6 10  
 μισθοφόροι 8 10, 10 1, 3, 4  
 μῆραι *Lacedaemoniorum* 9 5

## N

ναὶ μὰ Δία 1 13, 6 10, 10 2  
 νῆ Δία 8 8  
 νηποινεί<sup>2</sup> 3 3 (In an inscrip-  
 tion at Thasos of the middle  
 of the 5th century B.C. we  
 find the form ἀκονιτεῖ, which  
 must be recognised as the  
 proper form against the  
 testimony of Apollonius de  
 adv. p. 571, 4 and Herodian  
 περὶ διχρόνων p. 374. See  
 Roberts' *Introd. to Greek*  
*Epigraphy*, p. 60.)  
 νικᾶν 11 5, 6; ν. πολὺ *magnam*  
*et certam victoriam repor-*  
*tare* 2 16; νικᾶν τινα εὖ  
 ποιῶν 11 14, 2 16  
 νομίζειν 6 12; with double  
 meaning in the same clause,  
*lege sancire* and *putare* 3 3;  
 νομίσεις 6 11; νομίσαντες 7 9;  
 νομιζόμενοι 7 3  
 νῦν: τὸ νῦν 8 1  
 νύξ: καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν 7 10

## O

ὁ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι *civis*, where  
 οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι *cives* might  
 be expected 2 12  
 οἰκαδε 2 9  
 οἰκείος: οἰκείον ἀγαθόν 7 9  
 οἰκέτης 4 7

οἰκία 2 10, 4 7  
 οἶκος 1 12  
 οἶκος 11 14  
 οἶος 6 8  
 δλεθρος, *mortis instar* 4 9  
 δλος, position in reference to the def. article 1 5, 2 17, 8 4  
 ὁμολέειν 6 3  
 ὁμολία 4 1  
 ὁμοίος: τὰ ὁ. ποιῶσιν 8 2  
 ὁμοίως 8 4; ὁ. ἅπαντα 6 16; πάντα ὁμοίως 7 31; ὁμοίως (*aeque ac*) ἐνέδρα φυλάττομαι 6 3; ὁμοίως μὲν—ὁμοίως δὲ *tam—quam* 10 5  
 ὀνήνημι: ὀνήσαι 2 2  
 ὀπη 4 9  
 ὀπλίξειν: ὀπλισμένοι 2 8; ὀπλισμένους 6 4  
 ὀπλον: ἐν ὀπλοῖς εἶναι 2 13, 10 7  
 ὀπλοφόρος 2 8  
 ὀποι 9 7  
 ὀπότε *quandocumque* 9 7; *quandoquidem* 8 7  
 ὀπότε γε 4 2  
 ὀπου 2 16; ὀπου οὐ—ὀπου μή 1 12, 2 16  
 ὀπως c. indic. praes. for *δτι* after οὐ λέγω 9 1  
 ὀρᾶς, parenthetical 1 16  
 ὀρέγεσθαι *τινος* 7 1, 3, 9 7  
 ὀρᾶσθαι 9 7  
 ὀσμαί 1 24  
 ὀς *qui*: ὁ ἐξήλωσας 6 12; ὁ σὺ οἶ 4 6  
 ὀσος: ὀσφ—*τοσοῦτω*, with the comparative in one member only of a bimembral sentence 10 2  
 ὀστis: ὀτω 11 12; ὀτι περ, i.q. ταῦτό ὁ 11 14; ὀτιοῦν 1 13  
 οὐ *pleonastice* 1 18  
 οὐ μή with present subj. 11 15; οὐ μάλα 1 12; οὐκ—ἀλλά *non tam—quam* 8 10; οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία—οὐ μὲν οὖν 1 21  
 οὐδέ, *ne-quidem* 'not even' 5 2, 4; *etiam non*, 'not

either', 'no more' 3 3, 4 6, 5 2, 6 12; οὐδέ—γε, 'no nor', 'nor yet' 4 7  
 οὐδεῖς: οὐδὲν *nequaquam* 1 23, 10 1; οὐδὲν τι, 'not one bit' 2 3; οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον 2 18; οὐδὲν ἤττον 3 4, 5 1; οὐδεὶς *nullius rei* 10 3  
 οὐκέτι, *non item, non aequè* 1 16, 2 14  
 οὐκοῦν 1 21, 9 6  
 οὖν *resumptive* 10 4  
 οὗτος *emphatic, with demonstrative reference to relative clause preceding* 1 17, 21, 4 6, 7 3; *for τοιοῦτος* 8 5; *καὶ οὗτος* 2 2, 7 8; διὰ τοῦτο *emphasizing a preceding participle* 4 6; διὰ ταῦτα 'for this reason', 3 3, cf. 6 12; *καὶ ταῦτα* 'and that too', 1 9, 7 8; *ταύτη hoc nomine* 7 12  
 ὥτως *serving as protasis in a conditional clause* 1 3; *with demonstrative reference to preceding ὥς* 7 10; ὥτως *separated from its adjective* 1 1; ὥτως—ὥς *tantopere—quantopere* 4 8, 6 11; ὥτως *transposed* 1 1; ὥτως *usque adeo, tantopere* 2 16, 17  
 ὀφθαλμός: ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν *τινος γίγνεσθαι* 6 13  
 ὀχλος) (ἐρημία 6 4

## II

πάθημα 5 2  
 πανήγυρις 1 11, 11 5, 10  
 πάντοθεν 6 8  
 πάνυ 9 1; πάνυ μὲν οὖν *in answers* 1 21, 22  
 παρὰ πᾶσιν *apud omnes* 11 10; τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις *πλοῦτους* 11 13; παρὰ φύσιν 1 22  
 παράδειγμα 8 2  
 παραπλήττεσθαι<sup>1</sup> 6 5 *dub.*  
 παρὰσκευάζειν *efficere, reddere,*

with predicate acc. 5 3; ἐκ-  
πλεῖω παρεσκευασμένοι 1 18  
παραστάς: παραστάδες 11 2  
dub.  
παρατιθέναι apponere: παρα-  
τίθεσθαι (passive) 1 17, 22;  
(middle) sibi apponi iubere 1  
17  
παραχωρεῖν ὁδοῦ τινι 7 2, 7, 9  
παρέχειν praestare: παρασχέειν  
ῥημάτων 10 4; θάρρος 10  
5; ἀσφάλειαν 10 5; σχολήν  
10 5; κόσμον 11 2; φόβον  
ἄλλοις 11 11; facere with  
pred. acc., παρέχειν τὴν  
πόλιν εὐδαιμονεστάτην 11 7  
παριστάναι: ὅταν καιρὸς τάχους  
παραστῇ 8 9  
πᾶς: πάντων μάλιστα 8 6, 6 13,  
11 6  
πατρίς 11 14; αἱ πατρίδες 4 3, 4,  
5 3  
πεῖδος: πεῖδη (κατὰ θάλατταν 8 9  
πέισσθαι 11 11  
πειράσθαι (MED.), πειρῶ 11 15,  
πεπειραμένος expertus 1 2, 2 6  
πένης (cui quidem nihil super-  
est sed tamen suppetit unde  
vivat Ar. Plut. 552) 4 8, 10  
περαινέσθαι confici (a favou-  
rite word with Xen.) 9 5, 7  
περί: ἡ περί τὰς τιμὰς εὐφροσύ-  
νη 7 4  
περιάπτειν comparare: σαντῶ  
δύναμιν περιάψεις 11 13  
περιβλέπειν suspicere 7 2  
περίβλεπτος 11 9  
περιττός with gen. 1 19  
πῆ 1 2  
πιεῖν 4 2  
πιστεύεσθαι passive 5 2  
πίστις πρὸς ἀλλήλους 4 1  
πιστῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τινα 4 2  
πλείστα plerumque 4 11  
πλεονεκτεῖν 1 14; τινός 8 2  
πλεονεξία (ισοτιμία (dub.)) 8 10  
πλήθος, τό 5 1  
πλὴν οὐ 1 18 dub.

πλησιάζειν: οἱ πλησιάζοντες, 1  
24, may mean either 'those  
who are near his person'  
(cf. Soph. Oed. R. 91) or  
'members of his household'  
(ib. 1136)  
πλουτίζειν, locupletare 11 13  
πλούτος 'superfluity of sub-  
stance' 4 8; πλούτοι 11 13  
ποιεῖν with double accusative  
6 5, 10 8; ποιεῖν τινί τι 7 2;  
ποιεῖν τοῦτο vicariously 'to  
do so' 4 5, 7 13, 9 9; ποιέ-  
σθαι ἔργον 9 10; πεποιήνται  
νόμον 4 4; ποιητέον 9 2  
ποῖός τις qualis fere 6 7  
πολεμία sc. γῆ 2 8  
πολεμικός: πολεμικῶν ἔμπειρος  
6 7  
πόλεμος: πόλεμον πολεμεῖν 2 8  
πολιτικός 10 5  
πολλαπλάσιος 4 9, 8 7, ἡ 1 13  
πολύς: πολὺ διαφέρειν 2 2;  
πολὺ διαφερόντως 1 29; πολὺ  
νικᾶν 2 16; πολὺ misplaced  
1 8  
πολυτελής (εὐτελής 1 20  
πονηρός 7 11  
πορεύεσθαι 11 10  
πόρρω with gen. 'far gone, ad-  
vanced' in anything, differ-  
ent from πόρρω 'far from'  
4 4  
πότερος 8 3; πότερα utrum 11 5  
ποτέρως utro modo 11 4  
ποτόν: v. s. σίτος  
που 3 2  
πράγμα ἀργάλεον 6 4; πράγ-  
ματα ἔχειν 7 2  
πραγματεῦσθαι 8 8  
πράττειν: πρακτέον χρήματα  
exigenda pecunia est 8 9;  
τοῦτο πράττειν 'to do so'  
11 10  
πρὶν ἂν generally with aor. to  
express an action preceding  
the action of the antecedent  
negative clause, the verb

in which is future or some equivalent for the future

6 13

προαισθῆσθαι 10 6

πρόθυμος 11 12

προκαθίστασθαι<sup>2</sup> 6 9

προκινδυνεύειν τινός 10 8

πρόμαχος 11 12

προνοεῖν τινος 10 8, 11 12

προπετώ 7 2

πρός c. acc. 'at', 'in consequence of' 8 1; *secundum*, denoting the standard by which a thing is tried 4 8

c. dat. 'in addition to', πρὸς τούτους 'besides' 10 5; adverbial in compos. 1 23

προσδεῖσθαι 1 23, 4 11

προσειπάτω 8 3

προσῆκει 8 7, 11 6

προσιεσθαι *appetere* 1 20

πρόσδοος ἀλυκος 9 9; πρόσδοι 9 8

προσποιεῖσθαι *sibi arrogare* 2 16

πρόσρησις<sup>2</sup> *salutatio* 8 3

προστακτέον<sup>2</sup> 9 3

προστάται πόλεως 11 7

προστατεῖσθαι *regi* 5 1

προστατεύειν πόλεως 11 5, 7

προστάττεσθαι 7 2, 9 4, 10 4

προστιθέναι ἀνάγκην 9 4

προτιθέναι ἄθλα 9 4, 10 4; *PASS.*

9 11; *προτεθειμένος* unclassical for *προκειμένος* 9 11

προτιμᾶσθαι: τοῖς προτετιμημένοις)(τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἰσού οὔσι 8 5

προφυλάττειν τινός 6 10

πρῶτον for πρότερον 4 2

πῶποτε 7 11

πῶς οὐ 6 4

## P

ραδιουργεῖν 8 9

ῥώννυσθαι: ἐρρωμένως 9 7

## Σ

σαφής: σαφές 8 2

σίτος: σίτον αἰρεῖσθαι 6 7; σῖτα καὶ ποτά, 'meat and drink' 1 4, 2 1, 4 2, 7 3; τῶν σ. παντοδαπά 1 25

σκέψις 9 9

σκοπεῖν 8 2

σοφίσματα *de ciborum conditionis* 1 23

σοφός)((ἀκρατής 5 2; σοφόν τι 11 10

σπανίζειν 1 14; σπανίσας 1 25

σπονδαί 2 11

στερεῖν: στέρεσθαι *privatum esse, catere*, στερόμενος 6 1; στερηθῶσι 1 12

στεφανοῦν 7 9

στόμα: ἀνὰ σ. ἔχειν 7 9

στρατεία: ὤμεν ἐν σ. 6 9

στρατεύειν 2 8; στρατεύονται 2 9

στρυφνός 1 22

συγκαταμινύειν<sup>2</sup> τὴν ψυχὴν *toto animo se dedere alicui rei* 6 2

συγχάρειν 5 4, 11 12

συλᾶν ἱερὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους 4 11

συμβόλαια<sup>2</sup>, τὰ 9 6

συμπαροκολουθεῖν<sup>2</sup> 6 6

συμπαρέπεσθαι 8 5

συμπαρομαρτεῖν 6 6; c. dat. 9 8

συμπεριάγεσθαι 2 8

συναίρειν: ὡς συνελόντι εἰπεῖν *ut raucis absolvam* 9 10

συναναγκάζεσθαι 3 9

συνεῖναι τινι 1 26, 4 4, 6 2; συνῆν ἐμαντῶ 6 2

συνεπικουρεῖν 3 2

συνουσία 4 1

συντάττειν: οἱ συντεταγμένοι 10 7

συντέμνειν τὰς δαπάνας 4 9

σφάλλειν)((σῶζειν 10 7; σφάλ-  
λεσθαι τι 3 2

σχολή 10 5

σῶζειν 10 7; σῶζεσθαι 5 3

σωφρονίζειν 10 3

σωφροσύνη 9 8

## Τ

ταπεινός 'submissive' 5 4

τάττεσθαι (PASS.) 10 4

τάχος 8 9

τέκνα 11 15

τελείσθαι *impendi* 11 1

τιμῶν 7 2, 9, 8 3; τιμήσομαι fut.

pass. 9 9

τιμή 7 1, 2, 3; 8 5; 9 7; τὰς τ.

7 4

τιμωρεῖν 4 5; τιμωρήσασθαι 1 12

τίς (interrogative): τί οὐ with indic. (present or aor.) to express a command 1 3

τις (enclit.): ποῶς τις 6 7;

τι *aliquantum* 9 9; τι ἥδιον

1 21; θάπτον τι 4 7; μέγα

τι 7 1; οὐδέν τι 2 3; οὐδέν τι

μᾶλλον 2 18; τοσοῦτον τι

ἀγαθόν 3 5; καλόν τι 2 16

τοιοῦτος: τὰ τοιαῦτα 1 13, 7 3;

τοὺς τ. 10 25

τρέπεσθαι 9 7; (MED.) τρέψα-

σθαι *fugare* 2 15

τρέφειν ἄρματα 11 5; στράτευμα

4 11; φύλακας 10 4; PASS.

8 10

τρυφή: ἀσθενούσης τρυφῇ ψυχῆς

1 22

τυραννεῖν 7 11; τυραννεῖσθαι

(PASS.) 2 11; 6 14

τυραννεύεσθαι (PASS.) 2 11

τυραννίς, 5 3, 7 2, 4, 11, 12; 8 1

τύραννος—a ruler whose power

is above and against the

laws; it is characteristic of

him that he rules in his own

interest (τὸ ἐαυτοῦ συμφέρον

ποιεῖ, Aristot. Eth. Nic. viii

12, 7, Introd. p. xxxix ff.):

φιλόπολις ἀνάγκη τὸν τ. εἶναι

5 3, 8 10; ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ 11 6

## Τ

ὕβριζειν 8 9

ὕβριστός: ὕβριστότερος 10 2 —

ὕμνεῖν 11 8

ὕπανίστασθαι (ἀπὸ) τοῦ θάκου

7 2, 9

ὕπεξαιρεῖσθαι 5 2

ὕπέρ 'with a view to' 4 3

ὕπερβάλλειν: ὕπερβάλλουσα δα-

πάνη 11 2, τὰ ὕπερβάλλοντα

τὰ ἱκανά 4 8

ὕπερ<sup>2</sup> *egregie* 6 9ὕπερέχειν *praestare* 2 2

ὕπηρετεῖν 11 10; ὕ. τιw τὰ

προσταττόμενα 7 2

ὕπνον κοιμᾶσθαι 6 7; ὕπνοι 7 3

ὕπo with verbal substantives

to denote agency 1 28, 7 6,

8 4, 10 4; with intransitive

neuter verbs 7 8, 10 4; ori-

ginal meaning of 8 1

ὕποδύεσθαι πόνον 7 1

ὕπολαμβάνειν *excipere sermone*et *respondere*: ὑπολαβὼν 6 9,

8 1, 8

ὕπομένειν *eustinere* 7 4; ὕ. κιν-δυνον *subire periculum* 7 1

ὕπομνησκειν τινά τι 1 3

ὕποπτεύειν 2 17

ὕποπτος in personal construc-

tion with infinitive 1 15

ὕπουργεῖν τι 7 9

ὕπουργημα<sup>2</sup> *beneficium* 8 7

ὕπουργαί 7 5

## Φ

φαγεῖν 4 2

φαιδρός 'beaming with joy'

2 17

φαίνεσθαι ἔχων *aperte habere*

4 6

φάλαγξ πολεμία 6 7

φανερὸς 9 9

φέρειν *tolerare* 7 4

φέρεισθαι προπετῶς εἰς τι 7 2

φημί 9 2; φάναι, ἔφη inserted

pleonastically 1 7, 8, 15, 7 1;

φαίημεν 7 7



φθονεῖν: φθονήσομαι in passive  
sense 11 15; φθονοῖο 11 6  
φιλικῶς amicē, comiter 8 3  
φιλονικία: διὰ φιλονικίας 9 7;  
διὰ φιλονικίαν 9 6  
φιλόπολις 5 3  
φιλοτιμία 7 3  
φοβεῖσθαι ὑπέρ τινος 6 10; περί  
αυτοῦ 6 10; )( ἀγασθαι 5 1;  
φοβοῦνται τὰς πόλεις μή—  
γένωνται 5 2  
φοβερὸς μὴ ποιήσῃ 6 15  
φόβος ἀπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων 10 3  
φονεύς: φονεάς 4 5  
φόρημα 8 10  
φροντίζεσθαι (passive) 'to be  
the object of concern' 7 10  
φύειν: πεφυκέναι φύσει with  
infinitive 3 9  
φυλαί, the, of Attica 9 5  
φυλακή 8 9, φυλακὰς τῆς ψυχῆς  
4 9  
φύλαξ, φύλακας προκαθίστασθαι  
6 9  
φυλάττειν 8 9  
φύσις: φύσει πεφυκῶς 3 7

## X

χαλεπός )( ἥδύς 2 12; χαλεπὰ  
μὲν χρήσιμα δ' 6 16; χαλεπώ-  
τερα κατεργάζεσθαι 4 7; χα-  
λεπῶς aegre 6 15  
χαρά 8 4  
χαρίζεσθαι πλείω 8 2  
χάρις 8 3, 5; αἱ ἡμίσειαι χάριτες  
8 4, 7; διὰ χαρίτων εἶναι  
9 1; διὰ χαρίτων γίνεταί 9 2  
χειροῦσθαι 6 12, 14  
χορηγικός<sup>7</sup> 9 11  
χορὸς 6 2, 9 4, 6  
χρῆμα: χρημάτων ἕνεκα 6 11;

χρήματα ἐκτίων 7 12; χ.  
εἰσφέρειν 9 7  
χρῆσθαι: τούτοις χρῶνται δορυ-  
φόροις 5 3; χρῆσθαι ('to  
find') ταπεινότεροις αὐτοῖς 5  
4; χρῶτο 6 15  
χρήσιμος 6 16, 9 7  
χρῆσις 4 8  
χρόνος τῆς ἡδονῆς 1 19  
χώρας 10 5

## Ψ

ψυχή, 'appetite' 1 23, 'life'  
4 9, 7 12, 11 14  
ψύχος: ψύχη καὶ θάλαττα 1 5

## Ω

ὦδη 6 2  
ὠνεῖσθαι 9 11  
ὥς consecutive with infinitive  
for ὥστε 10 1  
— with participle denoting  
cause 7 10, 11 6  
— omission of, before nouns  
in apposition 5 3, 11 13  
— parenthetical clause intro-  
duced by, ὥς συνελόντι εἰ-  
πεῖν (ut paucis absolvam)  
9 10  
ὥσπερ γε 1 24, 6 15  
ὥστε consecutive with indic.  
6 10; with infinitive 1 12;  
to mark a strong conclu-  
sion, quare, itaque, 'and so',  
1 7, 4 8, 11 11  
ὠφέλειν 8 7, 9 9; PASS. 10 4  
ὠφέλημα, quod prodest, emo-  
lumentum 10 3  
ὠφέλιμος 9 10

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